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PRE-TRACTARIAN OXFORD

*Our men scarce seem in earnest now.
Distinguished names ;—but 'tis, somehow
As if they played at being names
Still more distinguished, like the games
Of children. Turn our sport to earnest
With a visage of the sternest !
Bring the real times back, confessed
Still better than our very best.*

ALBION



PRE-TRACTARIAN OXFORD

A REMINISCENCE OF THE ORIEL
“NOETICS”

BY

THE REV. W. TUCKWELL, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE

AUTHOR OF “THE REMINISCENCES OF OXFORD,” ETC.

WITH NINE ILLUSTRATIONS



LONDON

SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE

1909

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TO THE
ABSTRACT

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh

PREFACE

I HAVE called this book a Reminiscence ; for with the exception of Eveleigh, who died before I was born, I remember all the characters sketched ; and from the surviving near relations of several amongst them I have been favoured with further personal recollections.

I have to acknowledge gratefully the kind help in this respect of Mrs. W. Arnold, who submitted the Whately chapter to her mother, the Archbishop's daughter : to Mrs. Baden-Powell, who has furnished me with valuable personalia in her husband's life, and has allowed Mr. Hollyer to copy a family portrait : to Miss Powell, for not less interesting recollections of her father in her childhood : to the Provost and Fellows of Oriel, who permitted the remaining portraits to be photographed by the same able Artist from paintings and drawings in their Hall and Common Room.

January 1909.

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(The illustrations are all from photographs made by Mr. F. HOLLYER)

THE NOETICS

Eveleigh	. .	Provost, 1781-1814.
Copleston	. .	Fellow, 1789-1814. Provost, 1814-1828. Bishop, 1828-1849.
Whately	. .	Fellow, 1811-1831. Archbishop, 1831-1863.
Arnold	. .	Fellow, 1814-1819. Rugby, 1828-1842.
Hampden	. .	Fellow, 1814-1817. Bishop, 1837-1868.
Hawkins	. .	Fellow, 1813-1828. Provost, 1828-1874.
Baden Powell	. .	Degree, 1817. Died, 1860.
Blanco White	. .	Fellow, 1826. Died, 1841.

PRE-TRACTARIAN OXFORD

CHAPTER I

EVELEIGH

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi.

MAZZINI's warning to historians that they must not confound the beginnings with the ends of epochs is an echo of Horace's Ode. The Trojan War, the poet says, was not, as its chroniclers seem to think, coincident with the world's creation. Its scenes and its personages had been anticipated, its Helens had seduced, its Hectors fought, its Agamemnons commanded, in a remoter past. The French Revolution, so Mazzini would remind us were he here to-day, was not Carlyle's first parent of a regenerated society, but the conclusion of an older era. In the same way the so-called "Oxford Movement" did not begin with Newman's return from Sicily or Keble's Assize Sermon: for Keble had been pupil to Copleston, Newman a disciple of

Whately : Tractarianism, in its revolt and its developments, its reaction and its rivalry, is to be traced to an older "Movement"; its founders linked with names earlier and not less notable, yet lacking the *vaticinatio sacra* shed profusely on their successors, and so comparatively forgotten. Of these older men associated popularly in their own day as the Oriel or *Noetic* school, I propose to revive the memory.¹

The decadence of Oxford towards the close of the eighteenth century has been assailed by many pens. The Colleges had become lazy comfortable clubs; the University degrees were conferred with or without a merely nominal examination, and were no test of even moderate proficiency. Lord Eldon has left on record his own experience of this outrageous farce. He offered Hebrew and History; was asked two questions, "What is the Hebrew for a skull?" and "Who founded University College?" His answers, "Golgotha" and "King Alfred," satisfied the Examiners. In 1781 JOHN EVELEIGH became Provost of Oriel, and directed himself to

¹ Noetic is Greek, and means "Intellectual." Who first applied it to the Oriel men even Tom Mozley could not tell; but it was current from a very early period.

what seemed, to all except himself, the impossible task of radical reform. He persuaded his College to bestow its Fellowships on literary acquirement rather than on clubbable geniality; and he forced upon the University a system of public Examinations for the B.A. degree, which, while exacting from all candidates a certain evidence of efficiency, distinguished superior men by certificates of especial merit. There is no record of the mode by which he brought a majority of his Oriel colleagues to take a view of duty so entirely beyond the range of prescriptive Oxford morality; but by the opening of the century he had stamped his College with a uniformity of excellence among the Fellows far higher than was exhibited by any contemporary Common Room. His proposal for a new University Examination Statute was met both by Doctors and Masters with vehement opposition; but he pressed his scheme with persistency, enthusiasm, tact, offering from his own purse a very large benefaction towards the expenses which it was alleged that a stricter system might involve. The Statute was carried, in a permissive form originally, to be made compulsory not till five years later; six Oriel Fellows, of whom Copleston was one, offered themselves to conduct gratui-

tously the first Examination; and at Easter 1802 was published a list of candidates, two in number, who had especially (*maxime*) commended themselves to the Examiners. As eldest born of the Oxford Class List, their names seem to be worth recording: they were Abel Hendy of Oriel, and John Marriott of Christchurch. Marriott was the friend of Walter Scott, to whom was dedicated the Second Canto of *Marmion*—

Marriott, thy harp, on Isis strung,
To many a Border theme has rung.

He came to Oxford from Rugby in 1798, left it to become Rector of Church Lawford in Warwickshire, holding the Living till his death. He wrote many poems: one, called "The Devonshire Lane," was much admired. His son, Charles Marriott, was well known to the Oriel and Oxford of a later date: he figures in the *Uniomachia* as φιλαίτατος Ὀρειήλων. Hendy obtained the English Essay in 1804, died in 1808. These two appear in the Oxford Calendar, alone, as the honour B.A.s of 1802. But it is known that at the same time two other candidates, whose names do not appear in the Class List, offered themselves, and passed with highest

commendation. They were Wheeler, who became an Indian judge, and Daniel Wilson, afterwards the well-known Bishop of Calcutta, both of St. Edmund Hall. Both were B.A. of more than a year's standing; Wilson was married and ordained: how came they to enter themselves for the B.A. degree? Old Dr. Macbride used to say that the Statute, as at first passed, included an Examination, afterwards abandoned, for the M.A. degree; but for this they were not nearly old enough; nor, as we have seen, does the Calendar insert their names. They took up Herodotus, Thucydides, Sophocles, Longinus; the whole Hebrew Bible; Optics; and, in Latin, "*omnes optimæ ætatis auctores.*" The ordeal was entirely oral; prolonged, and very severe; at its close the Senior Examiner "announced in a loud voice that Messrs. Wilson and Wheeler had done themselves the greatest credit and obtained the highest honours." Their trophies remained officially unrecorded; but the story was often told by Wilson, and was preserved in my own time by the later Vice-Principal of the Hall, John Hill. Wheeler passed away from Oxford; Wilson remained, to become one of the most notable scholars who adorned the early Oxford Renaissance. He claims commemoration

here, as exhibiting, independently of the Oriel School, the rise of a New Intelligence in the University; and, further, as typifying in himself a struggle, not often so acute or so suggestive, between the intellectual and spiritual faculties in a nature at once highly endowed and exceptionally devout.

Born in 1778, the son of a silk manufacturer in Spitalfields, he was placed in business at fourteen years old, heartily disliked the work, persuaded his parents to send him to Oxford in preparation for the ministry. His emergence from a "state of sin," with the date and the degrees of his conversion, is told fully in his diaries and letters, and in no way differs from recorded experience in many similar cases, pale copies for the most part from Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*. Such self-revelations are unconsciously mimetic; the patient traces his spiritual abandonment and recovery on the lines which other godly convalescents have laid down, and finds, as do they all, a pleasure in exaggerating the profundity of the abyss from which he conceives himself to have been delivered. When we find Wilson in a letter from Oxford to his mother tearfully asking the forgiveness of the Almighty for two "sins not easily retrieved,"

failures, namely, to deal faithfully with a back-sliding fellow collegian, and to introduce spiritual discourse at a tea-party, we feel unfeigned compassion for his associates, but discount the severity of his self-reproach.

In 1798 he entered at St. Edmund Hall. Of the two theological systems which divided and still divide the English Church, the sacramentarian and the emotional, the latter, under the name of Evangelical, was at that time prominent: Whately, who matriculated in 1805, had not yet risen to stamp it scornfully as the self-sufficient Stoicism of the Roman Poet, nor Newman mercilessly to dissect the "Peculiars," as he called them, amongst whom he had himself been brought up. It engrossed the fashionable pulpits, leavened religious society; and its headquarters in Oxford were at St. Edmund Hall. That foundation boasted an ancient and honourable history, dated its commencement from the early thirteenth century, and could point to many notable alumni; but its numbers were small, its buildings undistinguished, and the name of its archiepiscopal founder, canonised as Saint Edmund by Pope Innocent III., had been comminuted into "Teddy" by an irreverent posterity. Its decided religious bias at the time

of which we speak, was due to an earlier Principal, Dr. George Dixon, appointed in 1760. He was an intimate friend of Lord Dartmouth, one of the few men of rank and fashion converted and influenced by the overflow of Wesley's movement; the only nobleman in England, Cowper admiringly tells us, who was believed habitually to say his prayers. It was not safe in the mid-century to profess openly the new religionism; in 1768 six students were expelled from Oxford for no other crime than that of avowing "Methodism"; but Dixon seems quietly to have filled his Hall with young men like-minded to himself; and when as years went on the offending title came to be softened into Evangelical, St. Edmund Hall stood forth as its acknowledged centre in the University. In 1783 Dixon nominated as Vice-Principal and Tutor a certain Dr. Isaac Crouch, who continued to hold the post under three successive Heads. He impressed upon the Hall—the Principals taking no part in the education—a novel character for erudition no less than seriousness. He lectured in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Mathematics, French, Natural Philosophy: a man quiet, undemonstrative, solid, widely learned, absolutely thorough; and his teaching was eagerly absorbed by Wilson,

who followed up his honours in the Schools by winning in 1803 the English Essay Prize, its subject "Common Sense." His performance was revised and corrected by Public Orator Crowe; and after a "splendid oration" by the Professor of Poetry, Copleston, was recited in the Theatre; amongst his auditors being Walter Scott. Leaving the rostrum, he made way for a Brasenose undergraduate, who followed him as winner of the Newdigate. It was Reginald Heber, his predecessor in the Calcutta See; and the poem was "Palestine."

He left Oxford for a Curacy, returning soon to become Tutor at St. Edmund Hall. For three years he taught under Crouch; then became sole Tutor and Vice-Principal. He threw himself into the work with energy; his "main object of imbuing his pupils' minds with true piety" was consistent, it appeared, with a vigorous instilment of secular knowledge. He prepared his men for both Classical and Mathematical Honours, with an elaborate weekly lecture on the Greek Testament, in which every one was expected to translate the Greek *vivâ voce* into Latin. His attempt at social intercourse with them was less successful; they found him stiff and donnish; his insistence on their wearing

in his drawing-room the bands at that time beginning to disappear from academic uniform gained him the sobriquet of "Bands Wilson," nor were there, as in the case of his successor Hill, any agreeable daughters to enliven the seriousness of the function. Yet he won from his pupils affectionate regard: the "Teddyites" took high places in the Schools; amid the traditional College laziness which Oriel was only just beginning to break up, the Hall and its virtual Head—for Principal Thompson, like his predecessors, took no part in the tuition—began to rank extraordinarily high. But with enlarging usefulness, success, repute, increased also Wilson's interior misgivings. "Divine things lose their savour;" sin comes deceitfully arrayed in the garb of secularity, literature, distinction; self-examination leaves him woebegone, his spiritual consciousness is dimmed. "My time at Oxford," he wrote long afterwards, "was entirely without profit to my soul." This was too unqualified a statement; for, side by side with his College work, on Sundays and during vacations, he ministered in two little Worton villages near Oxford. They had been neglected by a succession of sporting parsons; in judgments much less strict than his must have been pronounced

godless. He won all hearts at once ; such a preacher they had never heard. Crowds filled the little synagogues, surrounded the windows, extended half-way down the churchyard ; his powerful voice reached all. Sixty years after his departure old men and women lovingly described his presence and repeated portions of his sermons ; a marble tablet over the entrance to Upper Worton Church stands to this day as a memorial that he once was there.

In 1809 came a call to St. John's Chapel in Bedford Row. He placed the Hall temporarily—a curious arrangement—under the care of Hill, then an undergraduate ; and so soon as that young gentleman had taken his degree and Orders, resigned it entirely into his hands. To Bedford Row, to Islington, to Calcutta, we need not follow him ; to us only his Oxford career is interesting. Disentangled from the Gileadite shibboleths, which make the self-revelations of religious experience repulsive to mere men of Ephraim, his Oxford life records a fight between the intellectual and spiritual constituents in a temperament capable at once of literary enthusiasm and of passionate emotional ardour ; and bids us ask how far the pursuit of humanistic attainment is compatible with what may not

improperly be called the higher life. That God is the ideal human self; "the God within us striving for communication with God," was the alphabet of T. H. Green's metaphysical or theological teaching: the desire to become better is at once the evidence of an absolute best, a *Summum Pulchrum*, and the growing identification with it of ourselves. It is natural that a Soul which has grasped this as a fact, which finds or thinks it finds itself, like the Glendoveer in Southey's poem, ascending ever nearer to the primal source of consciousness, should shut out as impeding and distracting all other claims—of sense, of intellect, of philanthropy. But his first glimpse of the primal light he sought hurled Ereenya to the mountain's base; nature revolts against Manichæan isolation; the slighted faculties avenge themselves. Religious ecstasy, like love passion or battle ardour, is either intermittent, and then resourceless in its lapses, or strains itself to breaking point—to madness, as in poor Cowper's case; to heartlessness, as in the terrible Swedish drama; to the malignity of the persecutor, to the self-exaltation of the Pharisee. And it is observable that all these religious obscurantists of the higher sort—Wilson, Keble, Newman—who have professed to discard



PROVOST EVELEIGH

(From the Oriel portrait by John Hoppner)

and decry as “ of the world ” all purely intellectual proficiency, had already reaped its fruits. The man who, like John Newton, bid his followers read the Bible and the Bible only, had trained himself by wide secular study to understand the Bible ; and we may be sure that Wilson’s pulpiteering was the better, not the worse, for the midnight oil of St. Edmund Hall. Even to ignorant Worton rustics, much more to comparatively cultured London and Anglo-Indian hearers, the honey dropped by his persuasive tongue had been already hived and housed from the flower plots of many lands. Body, brain power, love of kind, are copartners with “ Spirit ” in our human structure ; must we not infer that the combination, balance, harmony of all, are necessary to the building of the perfect man.

I have seen higher, holier, things than these,
And therefore must to these refuse my heart,
Yet am I panting for a little ease ;
I’ll take, and so depart.

Ah ! hold ! the heart is prone to fall away,
Her high and cherished visions to forget ;
And, if thou takest, how wilt thou repay
So vast, so dread, a debt ?

How will the heart which now thou trustest, then
Corrupt, yet in corruption mindful yet,
Turn with sharp stings upon itself? Again
Bethink thee of the debt.

The *Summum Pulchrum* rests in heaven above ;
Do thou, as best thou mayest, thy duty do ;
Amid the things allowed thee live and love ;
Some day thou shalt It view.

With such firstfruits of his reforming energy as Marriott and Wilson Provost Eveleigh may well have been satisfied, but it was some time before they awakened corresponding tutorial and undergraduate energy. During four years following only eleven men "*Examinatoribus se maxime commendaverunt.*" Five of these were from Christchurch, a sixth was a Bible clerk of All Souls ; one alone, we are surprised to learn, came from Oriel. In 1807 the Honour men were arranged in First and Second Classes ; a Third Class was added in 1825 ; and in 1830 the present Four Class arrangement was adopted, a proposal to print the names of Pass-men being after a prolonged and animated controversy rejected. Within five years from the acceptance of the 1807 Statute the First Classes contained the names of Sir William Hamilton, the first Chief Justice

Coleridge, Dean Milman, J. G. Lockhart, Nassau Senior, Lord Cardwell ; six candidates, Sir Robert Peel, Vowler Short, Keble, Cramer, Dr. Bull, Hampden, Provost Hawkins, coming out as Double Firsts. But the effects of the new régime went far beyond the production or discovery of brilliant individuals. The dry bones were stirred : bold invasion of venerable torpidity generated a new temper in the University. There arose, said Pusey sadly long afterwards, looking back upon the earlier decades of the century, a spirit of free inquiry : old institutions, accepted principles and beliefs, were rudely and fearlessly investigated, and called upon to justify themselves at the bar of utility and reason. Authority, sole judge hitherto in questions intellectual, was disallowed—French Encyclopædists, German Rationalists, no longer banned with indiscriminating antipathy, were summoned as accomplices and witnesses in the newborn search for Truth. It was a memorable uprising, sustained by some of the greatest names in Oxford history ; destined after a period of eclipse to permeate English thought ; for the Oriel School in the Twenties was parent to the Essays and Reviews of forty years later on. But it was premature ; in contrast too startling with long-

established University thought : it was almost confined to Oriel ; and from Oriel by-and-by came the reaction which was its inevitable complement. By Eveleigh himself, so far as we know, its philosophical audacities were not shared, and might not have been adopted : but his revolutionary hand created the atmosphere in which they thrived ; and without a tribute to his large and previsionary intelligence no chronicle of the Pre-Tractarian Movement would be complete.

CHAPTER II

COPLESTON

imperium Jovis,
Clari giganteo triumpho,
Cuncta supercilio moventis.

“THE history carries us to Oxford ; and I think of the clerical and respectable Oxford of those times, the Oxford of Copleston and the Kebles and Hawkins and a hundred more, with the relief Keble declares himself to have experienced from Izaak Walton—

When, wearied with the tale thy times disclose,
The eye first finds thee out in thy secure repose.”

Thus wrote Matthew Arnold in his Essay on Shelley, recalling the glories of his famous College. They were somewhat on the wane when he was elected Fellow ; but still their memory remained ; still Oriel spoke to all England of Keble’s poetry, Whately’s logic, Hampden’s philosophy, Davison’s prophetic exegesis ; still many men survived who could recall the majestic figure of EDWARD COPLESTON, monarch in his day alike of Oriel and of Oxford, dethroner of uncreating Chaos, supreme for twenty years over the new *sæclorum ordo*.

May I here explain why, citing Davison amongst the *magnanimi heroes* of the opening century, I have not given him a chapter to himself. He stood aloof from both the earlier and the later Oriel movements; his mental constitution parting him from Copleston and Whately on the one side, from Keble and Pusey on the other. He was all along personally fascinated by Copleston: Hampden, whose Bampton Lectures he admired and approved, wrote of him as "one whose memory I am not single in loving and reverencing: I find myself constantly recurring in thought to him as a master, and asking myself what he would have thought on this or that question." Yet the Tractarians claimed him as an ally, and eagerly awaited a Commentary on the Scriptures which he was known to be preparing. But his character was that of a man timid, hesitating, easily embarrassed; he wrote and rewrote; postponed public avowal of his opinions; on his death-bed instructed his wife to destroy all his manuscripts. He left a treatise on the "Structure, Use, and Inspiration of Prophecy," which passed through several editions and has preserved his name; but he never fell into line with or took part in the influence exercised by the Noetic School. Lord

Dudley, in one of his published letters to Copleston, expresses astonishment that with such an understanding and such acquirements, Davison's manners should be "so entirely odious and detestable. How you could live with him without hating him I do not understand: clever as he is, there must be some great defect in his mind, or he would try to make himself a little more sufferable." The passage, published and therefore we must suppose endorsed by Copleston, throws a curious light on Oriel *manners* at the time, as they appeared to a well-bred and fastidious outsider. We can imagine that the fierce dialectical cut and thrust of men brought together by intellectual force, rather than by social amenity, might shock persons accustomed to the courtly and forbearing demeanour of what is called "good society." Some twelve years later, Samuel Wilberforce, dining in the Common Room, comments with unpleasant and somewhat pragmatical candour on his hosts: "the cantankerous conceit of —, the pettishness of —, the vulgar priggishness of —'s jokes, the loud ungentlemanliness of —, —'s cut-lip arguments, the disinterested liveliness of —, and the silence of Newman, were all *surprenant*, nay *epourantable*." These men were destitute, we see, of Wilberforce's immense

social advantages ; their manners had not that repose which stamps the caste of Vere de Vere.

Provost Eveleigh died in 1814 : the event was announced to the College " in a forcible and felicitous allocution " by the Dean, Copleston. Immediately afterwards, in pursuance of a requisition signed by all the Fellows, he was elected in Eveleigh's place. A suffrage thus voluntary and unanimous was at that time probably unprecedented ; but no other choice could have been possible : both in his own College and in the University Copleston held the highest place. Born in 1770, and educated at home by his father, a country clergyman, he had at fifteen years old gained a Corpus scholarship, at seventeen the Latin Verse Prize, " Marius in the Ruins of Carthage." Two years later, the Provost and Fellows of Oriel, having rejected as incompetent all the candidates for one of their close Fellowships, invited him to be nominated for election ; and the unusual step, which must have been prompted by the high reputation he had already gained, was justified by his obtaining the English Essay Prize in the following year. Its subject was " Agriculture " ; and he handled it with so much taste and knowledge as to receive a special

vote of thanks from the Agricultural Society. It is related that, as he left the Hall after his election to Oriel, he was accosted by one of the Fellows, known afterwards as Archdeacon Williams, who besought him to recollect always that he owed his preferment to merit alone, and never to forget the principle on which his Fellowship was won. The charge was in accordance with his own feeling ; in exercise of patronage both at Oxford and Llandaff his invariable motto was *detur digniori* ; but the reminder was novel and necessary in days when in every other College elections were determined on personal and social grounds. Down to my own time the custom was not quite obsolete : I have told of a Senior Fellow of Merton, when at a Fellowship election the opinion of the Examiners was pressed upon him, answering in outraged tones—"Sir, I came up to vote for the son of my old friend —, and vote for him I shall, whatever the Examiners may say." But already at Oriel a system was in course of establishment, to become under Copleston the rule ; a system which not only banished from the elections all claims of nepotism and friendship, but refused deference to academical distinction already gained, or even to technical scholarly attainments as shown in

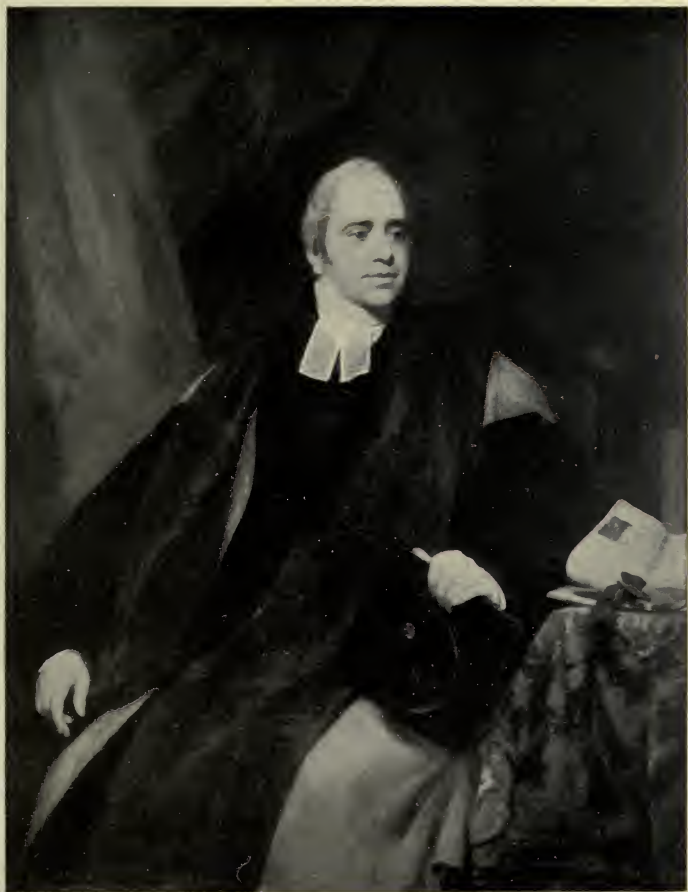
the Examination papers : admission was accorded only to evidence of power and originality ; not to what a man had read, but to what he was like. Neither Whately, Newman, T. Mozley, or Hurrell Froude, had gained a First Class : they were taken, as was Plumer, as at a still later period was Clough, against candidates of stronger *primâ facie* claims.

In 1797 Copleston became Tutor, and at the same time Captain in a regiment of Volunteers formed as expectant of a French invasion. In both capacities he made immediate mark. J. Hughes of Oriel, father to the author of "Tom Brown," used to recall him as the ablest officer and "tightest drill" in the University Corps : to keep pace with his exactions required no small equipment of wind and muscle. For he enjoyed through life at once the *mens integra* and the *validum corpus* for which Horace besought Latona's son : possessed of great bodily strength, he was known as a daring rider and a tireless pedestrian. We hear of his walking from Oxford to Marlborough in one day ; and he frequently performed on foot the journey from Oxford to London. Such an exploit had in those days perils of its own : I well remember how, in my childhood, when my father undertook a long

professional journey from Oxford, he carried a loaded pistol in his post-chaise ; and on one occasion Copleston, walking to London with his friend Mant, afterwards the well known Commentator bishop, was met near Uxbridge by mounted highwaymen, who robbed the pair of their valuables.

In accepting the office of Tutor he was confronted by a perplexing difficulty. He was expected to lecture on Logic. That Science had not, except in the meagre compendium of Dean Aldrich, been taught to him at Corpus ; had in fact for many years been almost entirely laid aside at Oxford, along with Astrology and Alchemy, as a system of barren and useless subtleties. He set himself to collect and read all books professing to treat of it ; and from this chaos he evolved a coherent and intelligible syllabus for his own use. When, years afterwards, Whately came to compose his "Elements of Logic," he found great part of his work to have been already perfected by his friend, and received from him assistance of the highest value in the remainder. He was never tired of proclaiming that whatever merit belonged to his very popular book should be credited in at least equal proportion to his old Provost.

He had many private pupils ; amongst them Mr. Ward, afterwards Lord Dudley and Ward, whose letters to himself he edited after his friend's death. Several of these disciples have left on record their impression of Copleston as a teacher ; his demand on their sustained attention and his enforcement of thorough knowledge. *Multum, non Multa* was his maxim ; quality rather than quantity ; to exercise the mind rather than to pour in knowledge. " Few people nowadays read the same book twice," he was wont to complain. His horror of *things made easy*, of methods devised to save the learner trouble, dictated a malicious but diverting *jeu d'esprit* entitled " The Examiner Examined." Kett of Trinity—" Horse " Kett, as he was called : I have given elsewhere the history of his *prænomen*—had published a book called " Logic Made Easy," a dialogue between a father and his motherless Emily, in which the *Ars Logica* was brought down to nursery level. The book was wholly superficial, and filled with grotesque blunders ; while the author had puffed himself in the title page as a " Public Examiner for Oxford Degrees," advancing his own sciolism beneath the shield of the University name. Copleston's pamphlet, " The Examiner Examined," criticised



PROVOST COPLESTON

(From the Oriel portrait by Thomas Phillips, R.A.)

the production with justifiable severity : the heading, *Equo ne credite, Teucric*, though an amusing piece of personal impertinence, might perhaps have better been omitted.

He was soon to find foemen more worthy of his steel than harmless, amiable, much-derided Kett. The "Scotch Reviewers," satirised by Byron in 1808, ruled with magisterial arrogance the world of letters. Anonymous, irresponsible, masters of a brilliantly attractive style, the plural "we" giving to each contributor the weight not of an individual but of a tribunal, their verdicts were accepted as oracular by the entire reading public. Their weapons were alternately self-sufficiency and buffoonery ; Whately saw in them a combination of the old-fashioned mountebank and his merry andrew, the one full of puffing pretension, the other relieving his master's gravity from time to time by sallies of ribald song and monkey tricks. Now and then they deserved gratitude for demolishing an impostor ; but very many of their judgments have been reversed, while their articles were marked by habitual and inexcusable unfairness. They were not, however, impervious to ridicule ; and a joint in their armour was pierced by a Satire from Copleston's pen called "Advice to a Young

Reviewer." Occasioned actually by an Article on Mant's poems in the *British Critic*, it was universally understood to be directed against the *Edinburgh Review*. With grave irony it exalts the position of a Reviewer, and his beneficent influence on Society as guiding its tastes and opinions rightly. The maintenance of this useful power must be, on public grounds, his constant aim, and to this end he must write always what will sell, disregarding all scruples born of a contracted education, and mindful that the good arising from the continuance of this authority with the public must far exceed any advantages which could arise from strict adherence to morality. Shallow thinkers have compared a critic to a judge, compelled in conscience to be unbiassed, cautious, patient : but a judge is independent and irremovable, a critic has to win and hold an audience, and so his attitude is that of an advocate rather than of a judge. Therefore in his pleadings let him remember that censure is more popular than praise, that ill-natured wit is read by those to whom selective and judicious eulogy is tedious. The art of unkind and malignant criticism is easily learned : an author's metaphors may be made ridiculous by detachment from their context, a fine passage can be

paraphrased into flatness, a dull passage quoted as “a favourable specimen of the author’s manner.” If a work excels in any one quality, it may be blamed for not excelling in another ; if anecdotic, for not being reflective, if analytic, for its want of lively colouring. Factitious knowledge of a deep and thoughtful work may be gleaned from an author’s preface, words used by him in modest self-depreciation can be easily expanded as the reviewer’s own ; for were time to be lavished on mastering a closely reasoned work, reviewing would not pay, and the public must thereby suffer.

But unmixed precept becomes tedious : a specimen shall be offered of a review constructed on the lines laid down. So Copleston selects and proceeds to criticise a piece universally accepted as one of the daintiest lyric poems in our language. He supposes to have newly issued from the Press *L’Allegro, a Poem, by John Milton, no Printer’s name*, and proceeds, Scotticé, to attack it. It is dissected piece by piece ; its graceful allegories are made literal and stigmatised as immoral : the fantastic pensioners of Euphrosyne are dismissed as “skipping cranks” ; the rural images are grotesquely misconceived. In the fire-side tales our reviewer sees the coarseness of a

village wake ; in the classical or chivalrous actors a set of sombre gentry chilling to mirth and gaiety ; the closing couplet is in true Sternhold and Hopkins style. "Upon the whole, Mr. Milton seems to be possessed of some fancy, and talent for rhyming ; two most dangerous endowments, which often unfit men for acting a useful part in life, without qualifying them for that which is great and brilliant. If it be true, as we have heard, that he has declined advantageous prospects in business for the sake of indulging his poetical humour, we hope it is not yet too late to prevail upon him to retract his resolution. With the help of Cocker and common industry he may become a respectable scrivener ; but it is not all the Zephyrs and Auroras and Corydons and Thyrsises, aye, nor his junketing Queen Mab and drudging goblins, that will ever make him a Poet." If any one cares to read the early numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, he will see how pungently they are parodied by Copleston's lampoon. The Swift-like satire of the young Oxford Lucilius was widely read and applauded, just as 170 years before all Europe had laughed approval when the conquering Jesuits were ridiculed by Blaise Pascal. And the castigation was laid to heart : during many years

after the controversy had closed, it was remarked that Articles with reference to Oxford were written with more caution and in better taste ; nor are we surprised to learn that Gifford at once took notice of the pamphlet, and enrolled its author as a contributor to the *Quarterly Review*.

Lucilius was soon to encounter his opponents¹ personally, as Ivanhoe challenged the Templar, with the sharp, not the blunt end of the spear : his playful castigation of the lordly Blue and Yellow was followed by a more serious encounter. In 1808-10 the *Review* began a vehement attack on Oxford studies ; on the retention of Aristotle as essential to a Degree in honours, on classical teaching generally. It was met by Copleston in three successive pamphlets called " Replies to the Calumnies of the *Edinburgh Review*," the first so forcibly written, and with imputations so well sustained and merciless of ignorance and bad Latinity on the part of the Reviewers, that the

¹ The following were the champions with whom Copleston had to deal :—

1. John Playfair. *La Place's Mécanique Céleste*. January 1808.
2. Payne Knight. *Oxford Edition of Strabo*. July 1809.
3. Sydney Smith. *Edgeworth on Professional Education*. October 1809.
4. Playfair, Sydney Smith, Payne Knight. *Joint " Rejoinder to a Reply," &c.* April 1810.
5. D. K. Landford. *Mitchell's Aristophanes*. November 1820.

Edinburgh, which had never before condescended to answer attacks, put forth a "Rejoinder to the Reply" evincing anger and alarm, and occasioning two subsequent "Replies." In these Copleston maintained the educational cogency of Aristotelean study, citing the *Organon* and the *Rhetoric* as especially valuable in respect of their illuminating fulness and their eloquence; and defended the syllogism as no mere weapon for verbal and intellectual fence, but as an instrument for the discovery of truth. Distinguishing the knowledge acquired for its own sake from that which goes to train the faculties, Copleston further proclaimed, what the Reviewers had most confidently impugned, the utility of classical learning. While mechanical productiveness, with its division of labour and so its individual concentration, is good for the Art, limiting for the Worker, Literature, he urged, and classical literature as its most finished representative, is eminently useful to the individual, and through him to the community. He deals with the rival claims of Science, and with the relative value of tutorial and professorial lectures; sums up his defence with a plea for cultivation of the mind as in itself a good, even though it be destitute of practical value. The brochure is of

interest to-day, when the assault on classical education has become popularised ; it must, however, be noted that when Copleston wrote Science was in its infancy, and that very few classical lectures were at that time equal to those given in Oriel.

In the Will of a recent millionaire a substantial bequest to Oriel was coupled with a contemptuous allusion to the commercial incompetence of College Dons. Had he known Copleston Mr. Rhodes might have modified his criticism. Appointed Bursar of his College, he found its system of finance, as was the case with all corporate bodies of that date, mischievously inefficient, the estates being let on beneficial leases with renewal fines, which were divided amongst the Fellows as they fell. From the time of his election no more leases were renewed ; the rents were raised, money being borrowed to meet immediate loss : and on laying down his office after six years, he could boast that the income of the College had been trebled, all its debts liquidated, and the estates better managed than under the old system. He was noted as Bursar, and afterwards as Provost, for his power of rapid visual calculation. It was customary to add up weekly in the Common Room the battels or

accounts of the men as entered in the buttery books, forming long rows of £ s. d. in the large ledger. Copleston would pass his finger rapidly up the central column once, and declare the total, which was invariably correct.

During these years he had held the Professorship of Poetry. Its lectures, delivered in Latin, commanded fit audience though few, and were published at the conclusion of the Course, to rest for the most part unread in College Libraries or to form appropriate School Prizes.¹ It was said that no man in Oxford so valued and studied Copleston's Lectures as did Newman. He read them with his favourite pupils, pointing out their originality of thought and their felicity of expression, as indicating a breadth of culture not always united with exact and elegant scholarship, distinguishing their Latin, however, as more Coplestonian than Ciceronian. The volume appeared in 1813, with a dedication to Lord Grenville, Chancellor of the University. This nobleman had been elected after a sharp contest on the death of the Duke of Portland in 1809. His opponent was Lord Eldon, who, a Tory of

¹ The writer possesses a handsomely bound copy of Keble's *Prælections*, with their singularly beautiful dedication to Wordsworth, awarded to him as a Winchester School Prize in 1848.

Tories, was supported by academic prepossession and by official influence. Grenville, though out of favour at Court and excluded from the Cabinet, was also a Tory, a friend and ally of Pitt ; but he was at issue with the Government on two important points, Roman Catholic Emancipation and the Currency. Copleston, who agreed with Grenville on both these burning questions, being, like him, a Tory of the Pitt and Canning school, exercised all his energy in that nobleman's behalf, putting out a judicious address in his favour. The new Chancellor, elected by a majority of only thirteen votes, attributed his success to Copleston's advocacy, and they became fast friends. To a bitter attack on him by Croker for his share in the contest Copleston replied by a vigorous pamphlet in 1810.

In 1814 Provost Eveleigh died, and Copleston was unanimously elected in his place. The University approved the choice by the unusual step of conferring on him by diploma the D.D. degree. The twelve years of his rule at Oriel are almost unnoticed by his biographers. His right hand man in College government is said to have been James Endell Tyler. Tyler was a scholar of the old-fashioned type, knowing his books by heart : a slang phrase of the day declared

that he could construe Thucydides "through a deal board." He was popular with the undergraduates, especially with the gentlemen commoners. He discerned at once the marvellous genius of Hartley Coleridge; warmly supported his election to a Fellowship; was deeply grieved when Hartley's wayward weakness and eccentricity made it inevitable that after a year of probation his election should be annulled. S. T. Coleridge, much distressed by his son's rejection, came down to expostulate with the Provost. He demanded that a distinction should be drawn between drunkenness and intoxication: there were, he argued, four kinds of intoxication, and the variety which Hartley had patronised was neither injurious nor disgraceful. We recall the Baron of Bradwardine's discrimination between *ebriosus*, *ebrius*, *ebriolus*. A sermon preached by Tyler in a London church had Lord Liverpool amongst its auditors. The Prime Minister was so much impressed by the preacher that he presented him to the Living of St. Giles' in the Fields, where he lived into old age useful and beloved; better suited possibly to a parish than a College: since Newman long afterwards being asked what he remembered of Tyler, answered "that he was a person wholly inconsiderable in any way."

In 1819 Copleston published his two Letters to Sir Robert Peel on the Currency and the Poor Laws. They were highly complimented in both Houses of Parliament; and he was consulted on these subjects personally by Peel, Baring, Huskisson, Tierney, and Sir James Mackintosh. About the same time we find his curiously versatile and active mind working to produce a volume on "Necessity and Predestination," which passed rapidly through two editions, and drew from one of his *Edinburgh Review* opponents, D. K. Sandford, a touchingly worded tribute of personal and repentant gratitude. In 1824 he was appointed by Lord Liverpool to the Deanery of Chester, which he held with his Provostship during three years, resigning both on his promotion to the bishopric of Llandaff and Deanery of St. Paul's.

It is amongst the disadvantages belonging to a wealthy Church Establishment that its bishoprics, instead of being treated as offices requiring more special qualifications than those which attach themselves to the mere title of Reverend, should be viewed in the light of prizes, and bestowed as rewards on men meritorious and distinguished in quite alien lines. We see Schoolmasters, Professors, Heads of Colleges, translated from posts

filled with admirable fitness to an episcopal elevation for which they are entirely untrained. Of all men then resident in Oxford Copleston could worst be spared : not a few, his inferiors in capacity, but with experience more ministrant to prelatical functions, would have made equally good bishops. Add that the unusually exacting duties of a neglected Welsh See were further hampered by the necessity of periodical residence at St. Paul's and of attendance in the House of Lords. To the duties, however, of his new post he brought the whole force of his practised judgment, resolute will, mental and bodily activity. We find him riding on horseback into every corner of his diocese, holding Confirmations in villages where no bishop had ever been seen, extorting by appeal to their sense of justice or of shame large sums from rich ironmasters for the populations which they had drawn into the South Wales mining villages. He exercised patronage with conscientious care, promoted churches, schools, glebe houses with large assistance from his private purse, enforced clerical residence, insisted on Welsh-speaking clergy where not thwarted by patronage rights, increased Curates' salaries, evinced a paternal spirit towards the Separatists who formed the great majority of the population.

To complete this personal record it will be well to make some notice of his expressed opinions and his public acts, as illustrating the attitude maintained by the ablest Oxford thinkers of the time towards academical, political, ecclesiastical questions. His aspirations for Collegiate reform anticipated in many points the changes introduced by the Act of 1853; and he invited immediate Parliamentary interference to remove the statutable obstructions which made internal voluntary reform impossible. He justified interference with Founders' Wills, where these were seen to have wrought mischief to the community, and desired to abolish all preference of Founders' kin, all restriction of Fellowships and Scholarships to particular schools and counties. He feared, however, lest "Time Fellowships" should destroy the feeling of security which was the chief charm of a Lifelong Fellowship: most men, he said, would prefer a permanent Fellowship of £200 to a limited Fellowship of twice that value. He urged strenuously but unavailingly that the names of Passmen, not of Classmen only, should be printed in the published Lists. This was denounced as cruel, branding Passmen with inefficiency; since the standard for the ordinary degree was known to be so low, that to pass was only less discreditable

than to be plucked. The cruelty, he answered, lay in admitting to the University men thus ill equipped ; and he proposed a public Examination of a not too lenient kind, without passing which no man should be permitted to matriculate.

In Politics he was independent of Party. His opposition to Peel's Currency measures was said to have long retarded his promotion ; and he supported Roman Catholic Emancipation, though opposing a Maynooth Grant. In the famous Lords division of 1831 he voted against the second reading of the Reform Bill : this made him for the time unpopular in his diocese : he provided himself with a round hat and brown coat as a disguise in case the mob should attack his palace ; and, in common with nearly all his brother bishops, he avoided public recognition by leaving off his wig. Later on he spoke and voted against the Jew Bill, not from any fear of " unchristianising the legislature," but because he thought that any measure of the kind, to be consistent, ought to abolish all religious disqualifications of whatsoever kind. With regard to Ireland he urged drastic measures, limiting the power of landlords to an extent which no one had at that time ventured to propose. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister, already beginning to be

pressed in Parliament, he judged on social, not religious grounds ; setting aside as inapplicable all reference to Mosaic law or Christian custom, distinguishing between the impropriety of such alliances, of which every one must judge for himself, and the unwisdom of their legal prohibition without clear evidence, hitherto not obtained, that such unions would be disastrous to the community.

In matters ecclesiastical his temper towards the framework of an Establishment was, on the whole, conservative. He thought it had never been so free of abuses as in his time, yet condemned its system of patronage ; and would abolish all freehold rights of paid officials. He was a maintainer of Church rates, objected to suffragan bishops, longed to see Convocation converted into a representative and legislative governing body of the Church. A devoted admirer of the Reformation, he subscribed liberally to the Martyrs Memorial, now a mere graceful addition to the beauty of St. Giles', then looked upon as a test of sympathy with the Reformers ; he published forcible anti-papal sermons, and carried in the House of Lords an amendment against the measure for diplomatic relations with the Vatican. He zealously vindicated and impressed upon his

clergy the claims of the English Church, not of the Papist seceders from it, to the title of "Catholic": "ours is the old faith, corrupted formerly, since restored by Protestants." Towards the Tract Movement his attitude was at first contemptuous; it was, he thought, a passing folly. In 1835 we find him sending a cordial message to Newman: eight years later he deplores the distraction to science and literature caused in Oxford by the "mystical divinity" of the Tract writers; and recalling in a letter to Provost Hawkins the great promise of Newman's early days, quotes sadly the lines from the Agamemnon—

ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἰνὶ δόμοις κ.τ.λ.

So once a lion cub as foster child one reared,
Tame, by the children loved, and fondled by the old.
But, when full grown, it showed the nature of its sires;
For it, unbidden, made a feast, in recompense
Of fostering care, a banquet of slain sheep.

Through God's decree a priest of Ate thus
Was reared, and grew within the man's own home.

He condemned, as ultimately dangerous, the Tractarian reservation of selected truths, to be imparted esoterically to a few; its exalting Tradition to a level with the Bible; its conferring a hieratic character on the Christian Ministry;

its imparting a sacramental agency to Ordination. "Nettle *roots* sting not," he was wont to quote from Bacon: the first entrance of any false principle or usurped power is usually in reference to something harmless and unimportant: having once taken possession of the soil, it sends up *shoots* poisonous and strong.

A precisian in language, he was severe on the employment, in composition or in talk, of popular but false terminology. He would quote as an instance of verbal misemployment Milton's use of the word *certain* in "Paradise Lost," iii. 118—

Foreknowledge hath no influence on their fault,
Which had no less proved *certain*, unforeknown.

The word "certain" is *subjective* to the mind; and expresses conviction in those who use it: it cannot be made also to express the *object* of our thought, whose nature is in no way influenced by our conviction. So also he condemned the popular confusion of "Truth" with "Fact." "Truth" implies a report of something that is; "Fact" the existence of a thing, whether reported or not. An Article in the Creed is or is not *true*; the thing which it reports is or is not a *fact*. So *reason* is confounded with *cause*; *infallible* with *inevitable*; *impossible* with *inconceivable*. That

nothing is impossible was a favourite dictum with him, as long afterwards with Huxley : our acceptance or non-acceptance of an allegation depends on no *a priori* assumption, but on the *evidence* offered in support of it. The word can be fairly used only in a logical sense, as implying a contradiction in terms ; not in a physical sense, as contrary to the uniform course of Nature, because Nature may at any time surprise us by a breach in its apparent uniformity. He constructs an entertaining list of the falsities which are common in Language, as conforming not to the realities but to the appearances of things. Phrases, such as "the sun sets," "Time destroys," "Cold freezes water ;"—words, such as "latitude or longitude," "solstice," "eclipse," "artery," are all incorrect, and if used with literal intention would prove ignorance : we may fairly employ them as a convenient medium, where strictly correct language would be unintelligible to the majority of our fellows. His perpetual incursions into etymology are interesting as illustrations of a subtle mind ; but speculations bearing on this subject a century ago are hardly in themselves worth recording. Comparative Philology, nascent in Germany, had not crossed the sea : Horne Tooke, more ingenious than erudite, was at that

time its only pioneer in England; yet we feel in reading that the mere conjectures of a mind so powerful as Copleston's bear an interest and value of their own.

Some twelve or fourteen of his Sermons are preserved. They exhibit correct style, strong sense, logical reasoning, evidential argument, convincing in an age when biblical criticism was unknown: in eloquence and pathos, spiritual experience, emotional fervour, they are wanting. Two of them contain a defence of Warburton's thesis, much controverted in its day, that eternal blessings are an exclusive privilege of the Mosaic and the Christian covenants. Another on Job xix. 25, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," ignores the metaphor attaching to the word *Goel*, giving to the passage a sense which Handel's music and our Burial Service have made classical, but which the original will not bear. Yet another combats the idea of a national Jewish restoration. The parable of the Unjust Steward, which has exercised the pens of three great preachers in later times, suggest to him only the removal of difficulties such as no thoughtful man can have seriously felt. There are sensible and practical sermons on judging our neighbours, on religious impatience, on unlawful curiosity; with

an elaborate defence of Christ's miracles against the symbolical explanation of the Hutchinsonian school. There remain two "Bosworth Lectures," known to undergraduates as "Bozzies," delivered in Oriel Chapel under the will of a College benefactor. One of these, on "the Christian Church," contains the "high" theological creed of pre-Tractarian days. It sees in the Church a divinely appointed society, externally visible and universal, of strictly spiritual, not temporal, authority, holding its charter and its polity from the written word of Scripture, governed by officers tracing descent from the Apostles in a long chain of historical succession, with no sacramental character or sacrificial prerogative, no transmission of virtue from one person to another. This last assumption, forming the keynote of the later Tracts, he carefully repudiates. The other Lecture is on the Church of England, which he maintains to be apostolic and continuous from its beginning, defensible against the claims of Rome and the objections of Protestant Sectarians.

Like his pupils, Whately and Baden Powell, he was a fervid anti-Sabbatarian: the belief that the Apostles had transferred the obligation of the Fourth Commandment from the seventh day to the first he styled, with Calvin, an "Anglican

figment," unknown during fifteen centuries. The only rational and safe alternative is, either to observe the Fourth Commandment exactly as it was given, or to acknowledge that this, with the rest of the ceremonial law, is in no way binding on Christians. Minor questions, of rubrical and ritual observance, he decided by a masculine common sense which bore weight with all his clergy.

Of his personal friendships not much is to be told. With Whately he maintained unbroken relation, on both sides affectionate and admiring. Their minds were cast in the same mould and trained by the same discipline. While Copleston lived, the two corresponded habitually; the survivor, Whately, embalmed his friend in a brief but perspicuous memoir. Of Arnold he was not a great admirer, regarding many of his views as rash and dangerous. His closest intimate in the diocese was Bruce Knight, chancellor and examining chaplain, and afterwards Dean of Llandaff: "dear and noble-minded" he calls him; this colleague's death was the saddest event of his episcopate. Two other valued friends were the Duncan brothers, of Bath and Oxford, rich, munificent, highly cultured. The younger, Philip, had been his rival for academical honours in youthful days, his fellow-traveller on the Continent, his close

associate through life. They co-operated in philanthropic schemes for Oxford ; in the establishment of a Savings Bank and an anti-mendicity society, the erection of public baths, the improvement of the Ashmolean Museum. Phil. Duncan, as he was always called, lived to a great age, keeping rooms at New College, where I was often his guest : archaic in dress and manner, his colloquial charm of epigram, anecdote, apt quotation, recalled the ancient days when conversation in Oxford was a fine art. In this Copleston too excelled : I have heard his talk described by one who often heard it : the comprehensive memory and terse expression, tinged now and then with irritation if his quickness of thought or felicity of allusion were not at once followed by his hearers. He was at times capable of momentary rudeness : when Newman soon after his election was about to help a dish set before him at the high table, he records his mortification at the Provost's sarcastic interpolation : " Mr. Newman, we do not carve sweetbread with a spoon ; Manciple, bring a blunt knife : " and his tribute to one of the Fellows was long remembered—" I say it deliberately ; Mr. P—— is the most ungentlemanlike person I ever met in the whole course of my life." His interest in all

modern discovery was intense : his first experience of the railroad filled him with an astonishment bordering on awe ; and the invention of the electric telegraph so stirred him as for some nights to banish sleep.

In society his presence was eagerly sought, and his brief diary records a great variety of illustrious acquaintance. He had known Sir Walter Scott both in his best days and in his decay ; once proposing to him Owen Glendower as the subject of a novel. He notes a dinner at Sir Francis Burdett's, where were Peel, Lyndhurst, Theodore Hook, Croker : elsewhere he meets Lord Stowell, who tells him how in old days at "The Club" Johnson disliked the presence of Gibbon, and often snapped at Reynolds with asperity. He encounters Sir Charles Wetherell, just escaped from Bristol "in the disguise of a clean shirt" ; is introduced to Canning at the great statesman's particular request ; dines with young Lord J. Russell to meet Heber, Sydney Smith, Southey. He breakfasts of course with Rogers, whom he describes as possessing in perfection the *molle atque factum*, and conceives the warmest admiration for Brougham. He is presented to King William, who chatters for ten minutes about his attach-

ment to the Established Church ; is entertained at Cambridge, expatiating on the unrivalled view from King's Bridge. In the delightful "Family Letters" of Emma Darwin, unkindly limited to private circulation, we hear of a "grand dinner" at Hensleigh Wedgwood's, Bishop Copleston the lion. There were, however, other lions in the same cage ; Lalor Sheil, Lord Denman, Lord Nugent, biographer of Hampden. In the evening by a great stroke of luck and daring Sir James Mackintosh brings together Wordsworth and Jeffrey. The poet refused to be introduced ; "we are fire and water, we shall only hiss"—but Mackintosh takes him by the shoulders—fancy taking Wordsworth by the shoulders !—turns him round, steers him up to little Jeffrey, and names them to each other. At once they fraternise, and remain till one o'clock talking of poets, orators, novelists, while Lockhart and Empson listen with perhaps sardonic amusement. We find him a frequent guest at Althorp, and at Lord Grenville's : entertaining in his Welsh home, at one time the navigator Franklin, at another the German scholar A. W. Schlegel. He visits Bishop Barrington and Mr. Thomas Grenville, stored both at ninety years of age with lifelong accumulation of illuminating

experience. And he approvingly compares the conversation of a well-selected Lambeth dinner to that of the party in which Cæsar supped with Cicero ;—“ *σπουδαῖον οὐδέν, φιλόλογα multa* ”—much literature, not a word of shop.

Of august and commanding presence, with the air and polish suggesting a man of fashion rather than a University Don, he contrasted curiously with his friend Whately's boisterous negligence in appearance, manner, dress. Tom Mozley calls him not only the ablest and most agreeable man in the University, but “ the most substantial, and majestic, and, if I may say so, richly coloured character in my knowledge of Oxford.” The power and melody of his sonorous voice were admiringly quoted by his contemporaries, his reading of the Communion Service in chapel was long an Oriel tradition. To imitate this magnificent organ was a favourite undergraduate amusement. Coming out of Tyler's room after a lecture, Froude one day went back, tapped at the Tutor's door, said in the Copleston tones—“ Mr. Tyler, will you please step out a moment ? ” Out rushed Tyler with a “ my dear Mr. Provost,” to see only the last of his class descending the staircase. Long after he had passed away, his counterfeit presentment walked the streets in

old Mr. Joseph Parker the bookseller, who in mien, gait, voice, full suit of black, gold seals and shirt frill had educated himself to resemble closely his friend and patron.

Old age came upon him not till past three score and ten. We find him discontinuing his rides, confessing to bodily fatigue at the end of an exhausting day, citing Paley's maxim that there is enjoyment in the senile dozing-chair no less than in the alacrity of youth. He suffered latterly from bilious depression which somewhat clouded his intellect. After several weeks of suffering and exhaustion he died in 1849, and was laid in the ruined precincts of Llandaff Cathedral, since nobly restored by the munificence of a successor.

CHAPTER III

WHATELY

O well for him whose will is strong !
He suffers, but he will not suffer long ;
He suffers, but he cannot suffer wrong.
For him nor moves the loud world's random mock,
Nor all Calamity's hugest waves confound,
Who seems a promontory of rock,
That, compassed round with turbulent sound,
In middle ocean meets the surging shock,
Tempest-buffeted, citadel-crowned.

ACUTE in mind, resolute in temper, robust of body, in society genial often to the point of boisterousness, RICHARD WHATELY began existence in 1787 as a puny sickly child. When weighed against a turkey soon after his birth, the advantage was much upon the side of the fowl : in childhood timid, shy, retiring, he shrank both from grown-up company and from nursery playfellows, leading always a solitary, self-absorbed, and meditative life. Despised by his brothers as a kind of changeling, he met with uniform kindness from an elder sister, who in after days recalled his childish greed for books and love of Nature. At five years old he developed an extraordinary passion

for mental arithmetic. His father's friend, Dr. Parkhurst, lexicographer and divine, announcing in his presence once that he was on that day sixty-three years old, the boy after a brief consideration told him the number of *minutes* that he had spent on earth; and the calculation, when tested, was found to be correct. He records in his commonplace book, as unaccountable to himself in looking back, that he was able to work out in his head the longest and most difficult sums by processes which he could not explain, but which were never found to be in error. His father tried in vain to transfer his power to written figures; and when at about nine years old the strange faculty died as abruptly as it came, he was found at school to be a dunce in cyphering. Nor was he ever in after life distinguished as a mathematician, though flashes of the old capacity sometimes suddenly returned to him, and he would baffle first-class experts by solving in a fashion of his own some curious arithmetical puzzle or problem. But his infantine broodings were not solely mathematical; he possessed an extraordinary passion for what he called "castle building"; speculation that is on abstract subjects; Utopian schemes for ameliorating the world, or theories of improved govern-

ment. This habit did not leave him like the other : it ministered to the self-education which made him one of the most acute and fertile reasoners of his time. For from the first he was emphatically a thinker : had always some subject mentally in hand. Any topic which presented itself as suggesting possible results of intellectual or practical value would be seized upon to the exclusion of all other ideas, followed out in all its manifestations, tested by rules of logic, shorn of immaterial or weakening accessories, until it stood out for use in his brain complete and unassailable. While to this habit of intense concentration, instinctive and improved, he felt himself to have owed everything in life, he was conscious of the defects which attended it ; alarm and irritation at being disturbed while engaged upon a train of thought, unreadiness to turn from any one topic to another, an absence of mind which involved him often in absurdity or inconvenience. And akin to this absorption was his deficiency in the minor curiosity which feeds domestic and local gossip ; he had Wordsworth's strong distaste for " personal talk " ; taking no interest in the comings and goings of acquaintance, he could never meet ordinary persons upon equal terms, remained ignorant of matters which

form the substance of casual conversation. "It gives me no pleasure to be told who is dead, who married, what wages my neighbour gives his servants. I am frequently forced to evade questions awkwardly, from not daring to own, nor indeed being able to convince any one, of my own incredible ignorance. If I had had no uncle or aunt, I should probably have been unacquainted with my mother's maiden name."

Thus constituted as a boy he could hardly be companionable, and though speaking always with affectionate respect of Mr. Phillips, master of the private school near Bristol where he was educated, and though forming a close intimacy with one schoolfellow, Samuel Hinds, afterwards a tried friend and colleague, he looked back to his school life with little pleasure. But when in 1805 he entered Oriel College, he found a new spring of life in the teaching and converse of Copleston. The tutor was first attracted to Whately by his close attention in lecture. To the sneers of his companions, who found all lectures tedious, he answered: "If I paid a shoemaker for a pair of shoes, I should not think it desirable to avoid wearing them; and I would limp upstairs upon one leg to attend a lecture of Copleston." The mutual attachment was

lifelong ; the influence of the pair upon each other equal. Copleston, mentally superior to ordinary forms and prejudices, yet always hampered by a certain professional caution, recognised with delight and in some measure imitated his friend's boldness, defiance of prepossession, independence of party ; while Whately found in his tutor for the first time a man who could understand his mental constitution, appreciate his hitherto unimparted broodings, enter into his aspirations, and draw out the powers of his mind.

Neither at Oxford nor afterwards was he a great reader : his favourite books were Aristotle, Thucydides, Bacon, Bishop Butler, Warburton, Adam Smith. In later life he greedily read Miss Austen : reviewing "Persuasion" in the *Quarterly*, he pronounced it to be "one of the most elegant fictions of common life we ever remember to have read." He greatly enjoyed the Waverley Novels, not so much for their character-painting, as for their incomparable powers of description. He was also fond of Crabbe ; and his lately surviving daughter recalled his reading aloud from Shakespeare and Scott to herself and the rest when quite young children. But he lacked as a rule feeling for either classical or

modern literature: never mastered German, understood French imperfectly; read nothing at Oxford except the books necessary for his degree. J. S. Mill used to speak of him as the least equipped with books amongst all the fertile thinkers of his time; and it followed that his own writings often reproduced as original what were, unknown to him, the commonplaces of other authors. For the Schools he read desperately hard, commencing always at 5 A.M., but obtaining a Double Second only; the blame is laid by his biographers on the Examiners—a familiar allegation, probably true in his case as in that of Clough thirty years later. Dean Gaisford, who hated class-lists, used to maintain the paradox that a Double Second is higher evidence of power than a Double First: but Whately was bitterly disappointed. Writing long afterwards to Stanley, who was seeking a Tutor for his boys, he points out that while a First Class man may be quicker in learning than a Second Class, the last will be better in teaching. “I myself, being more of a hone than a razor, should at this day be justly placed in an Examination a class below some other men in point of knowledge, whom I should surpass in power of imparting it.” He was somewhat consoled in

the following year by gaining the English Essay, "The Arts in the Cultivation of which the Ancients were less Successful than the Moderns;" and he looked back always to the attainment of an Oriel Fellowship in 1811 as the great triumph of his life.

For ten years he resided as private and as College Tutor. Of these years we learn nothing from himself, for he kept no journal: "If I were forced to undertake a lifelong diary I should wish myself dead:" but several of his pupils have left reminiscences of their intercourse. One of them recalls his costume in 1813—pea-green coat, white waistcoat, stone-coloured shorts, flesh-coloured stockings, powdered hair. We hear of him as lecturing at full length upon a large sofa, smoking a pipe incessantly, while pouring out a stream of luminous talk. We are told of his long vacation reading parties at which only Latin was spoken. His College friend Ingham, visiting Coniston in the year after Whately and his pupils had been there, was told by the landlord of the inn that they did nothing but blow a horn upon the lake and clatter over the pavements in clogs. Sherlock Willes, one of the four Coniston pupils, used to relate that when the works of the Tent Lodge blue stocking, Elizabeth

Smith, in four volumes, were lent to them by her proud mother, Whately ordained that each should master a single one of the volumes, and that when Mrs. Smith, according to her wont, forced on them discussion of the book, the guest whose special volume was in question should support by his partial erudition the credit of the whole party. Specially remembered by all were the Oxford morning walks from five to eight with one or two favourites, a scramble along cross country roads, through hedges, swamps, ditches, brooks—*avia loca nullius ante trita solo*—beguiled by his brilliant talk on philosophy, religion, literature, with occasional disquisition of a practised naturalist on the plants and animals which they encountered. Equally unforgotten was the frolic which he would throw into the young men's chess club supper parties, his charades and jokes, the witty songs which he composed for those who, like the Fool in Twelfth Night and unlike himself, had sweet breaths to sing. Commemorated lastly were the evenings in his rooms, when he would retail the Common Room talk but now concluded, those discussions which he and his brother Fellows looked upon not as modes of convivial relaxation, but as argumentative combats vitalising and strengthening mental readi-

ness. "Tommy" Short used to report that Davison and Whately crammed habitually for post-prandial talk; and unfortunate outlanders whose digestion of the dinner and relish of the port wine were spoiled by these animated dialectics, went away complaining that Oriel Common Room *stunk* of Logic. A rural clergyman on one occasion, after listening to Whately throughout the evening, thanked his host formally for the pains he had taken to instruct him. "Oh no," said Whately, with no sarcasm but in all sincerity, "I did not mean to be didactic, but one sometimes likes having an anvil on which to beat out one's thoughts."

As a Teacher he was no monologist; his delight was not in communicating knowledge, but in drawing out the learner's mind and forcing him to think for himself; encouraging diffidence, crushing self-conceit, combating retentive memory, which he ever looked upon as a deadly foe to thought; demanding that answers should be given in a pupil's own words, not by rote from a text-book. Even in later life, when young people were gathered round him, he loved to stimulate them with logical puzzles, propounding some fallacy to be detected, some analogy to be tested, or some inconclusive argument to be exposed.

His intimate friends among the older men in these College days were Baden Powell, Hinds, Boulton, Newman, his brother-in-law Pope, Woodgate, Nassau Senior. This last had been his Pupil. Examined in the Schools, where every one expected for him the highest honours, Senior showed slackness in the Divinity *vivâ voce*, translating ὑποκριταί unconventionally by "Play Actors," answering questions wrong, with a certain contemptuous recognition of his inscience. The Examiner became annoyed, and, on his breaking down in Article XXVI., put to him verbatim the third question in the Catechism. Obtaining no reply, he said angrily, "I could have answered that at eight years old." "So could I," was the answer, and the candidate was plucked then and there. He wrote home: "Dear father, I am plucked for my degree—I will get a First another time." A common friend introduced him to Whately, and he gained his First in the next Examination. These men formed between 1812 and 1820 Whately's set, or following: to them his attitude was almost feminine in its tenderness; "all his geese were swans," says Newman in the *Apologia*, going on to recall him as the gentle and affectionate instructor, through whose encouragement he himself exchanged timidity for



RICHARD WHATELY

(From the Oriel portrait, artist unknown)

assurance, from whose lips he learned to use his reason. From him too he tells us that he gained his first conception of the Church as a corporate substantive body, and his deep loathing for Erastianism ; parting from his old instructor at last on no theological difference, but on the re-election of Mr. Peel as Member for the University. " By this time also," he says naïvely in his record of the breach, " I was under the influence of Keble and Froude." Dearly loved by the few, Whately was by no means generally popular. He lacked the subtle sympathy and intuitive discernment essential to wide personal influence. His opinions also clashed with those prevalent in the lower but broader strata of academical society ; his presence, says a contemporary, inspired terror amongst all who desired immobility and dreaded change. He was supposed too to feel disdain for the *malignum vulgus*, the common Oxford herd ; while his roughness of manner scared the timid and revolted the fastidious. Untouched by historical antiquity, a stranger to the spiritual influences of Nature, devoid of taste for music, painting, architecture, he lacked those associative resources which draw men easily together from a sense of æsthetic kinship or by collision of instructive disagreement.

In the commencement of his University life he had been painfully shy, and the effort to conquer the defect carried him into the opposite extreme. So now his overpowering roll of voice, Johnsonian impact of rapid speech, tumultuous gestures, careless dress, alarmed sensitive persons. Clad in a long white coat, white beaver hat, and wielding a formidable stick, he was known at Oxford within my memory as the "White Bear"; the "Black Bear" being his constant associate Hinds, who affected, like Hamlet, a long and inky cloak. It is noticeable, however, that both at Oxford and in Dublin children always took to him, their swift correct intuition penetrating through the rough rind to the warm heart beneath. "I see little lambs," he would cry, if he noticed a friend's children approaching; they would run to him, and contend to be gathered in his arms or set upon his shoulder. Walking up Loughrigg with the Arnold family, he encountered a little girl of eight years old carrying a heavy jug of milk, her daily task, a distance of two miles. He was shocked, took her in his arms and carried her to Fox How, the others bearing her load; and all walked with her to her home. Mrs. Simpson in her charming "Memories" records how he was wont to hold her at arms' length above his

head, crawl on all fours and frighten her by growling, pretend to have beneath his large handkerchief a little pig running and squealing, cut cardboard boomerangs and teach her how to discharge them. She remembered too his slovenliness; spying a hole in his black silk archiepiscopal stocking, he would fix on his leg beneath a piece of sticking-plaster to conceal it. Like many men of powerful frame and active brain, he was a great eater. When Principal of Alban Hall he often came to dine at Oriel. On such occasions the cook would prepare for him some specially succulent dish. College tradition records that if the Fellow before whom this dish was placed happened not to be sufficiently liberal in helping it, the servant would whisper, "It is for the Principal, Sir," and a Benjamin's mess was sent. At breakfast he would scatter tea-leaves over the table while he talked, and make rings on the tablecloth with the wet bottom of his tea-cup: no one, except Dr. Johnson, De Quincey, and Dean Stanley, ever drank so much tea. Sitting on his chair, he would twist his legs into a knot, balancing himself with muscular struggles on the seat. I have related elsewhere¹ how while in his relative Mrs. Baden-Powell's drawing-room he

¹ *Reminiscences of Oxford*, p. 18, Second Edition.

swung, plunged, shifted on a slenderly fashioned chair; a crack was heard, a leg gave way, he tossed it on to a sofa without interrupting his talk. I daresay the kind hostess forgave him, for women, like children, take a lenient view of strong masculine eccentricities. It is true that a lady who knew him later declared that the Archbishop's fashion of putting Mrs. Whately into a carriage made her feel that *she* could never have become his wife; but then she had never had the chance; and others may have felt, like a certain admirer of Dean Swift, that they would have taken his brutality in order to have his tenderness. At all events, in 1820 he wooed and won the lady who became the companion of his life, to whose grace of character, delicacy of mind, high power of intellect, her husband and her many intimates have left ardent witness.

He brought his wife to Oxford for a time, preaching in 1822 his characteristic Bampton Lectures on the "Evils and Dangers of Party Spirit," intended to define a *via media* between indifference and intolerance. Presented to a Living by a relation, he had spent three energetic years in parochial work, until in 1825 he was recalled to Oxford as Principal of Alban Hall. He came back to show that neither clerical nor

matrimonial custom had staled his infinite variety. The Heads were daily scandalised by the spectacle of a D.D. not only wearing beaver in Christchurch meadow and the Parks, a costume in those days flagrantly illicit, but attracting a crowd by the antics of his dog Sailor, whom he had taught to climb the trees, and to drop from their overhanging branches into the Cherwell. Copleston, every inch a Don, sadly remarked one day—"Whately really forgot himself during our walk this afternoon; he actually, while in sight of other passengers, picked up a stone and threw it at a bird." Sometimes he might be met, with several young men in tow, returning from the Hincksey fields, all carrying pocket-handkerchiefs filled with Miller's Thumbs, the "Tom Cull" of Winchester boys, the *Cottus gobio* of Naturalists, which he had ladled out of the brooks, holding an unaccountable theory as to their culinary value. Alban Hall had under Dr. Elmsley's management become a still removed retreat for men dismissed from or refused by other Colleges: first with Newman, then with Hinds as his Vice-Principals, he soon regenerated the Society, lecturing himself and restoring stricter rule: in a short time his men showed well in character and scholarship, and additional

rooms were built for the reception of increasing numbers. As a member of the Hebdomadal Board, he took a strenuous part in University legislation, advocating earnestly but unsuccessfully, as Copleston had done before him, the establishment of a public Entrance Examination, without passing which no man should be permitted to matriculate at any College ; and the publication of a Fifth Class in the B.A. Examinations containing the names of Passmen. During these years his pen was busy ; he wrote many Articles in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, and brought out a volume of controversial theology which went through several editions. His earliest publication had been the delightful Irony known as "Historic Doubts," a burlesque of Hume's "Essay on Miracles," proving by Hume's arguments that the life and actions of Napoleon Bonaparte were incredible and mythic. He lived to see Louis Napoleon on his uncle's throne, and to wield in a late edition this alleged "fact" as additionally proving the unveracity of the whole story. Of course the clever skit *proved* nothing, as Baden Powell long afterwards pointed out, except that the Bible narrative is no more properly miraculous than were the marvellous exploits of Napoleon. He produced about the

same time a remarkable work, called "Letters on the Church, by an Episcopalian," which he neither owned nor disclaimed, but which nobody doubted to be his. Newman speaks of its gradual but deep effect upon his own mind. It maintained, in contradiction to Arnold's view, that Church and State should be mutually independent, the Church never interfering in temporal, nor the State in spiritual affairs ; and, while advocating Disestablishment, vehemently resisted the corollary of Disendowment.

In 1826 and 1828 he published his *magna opera*, on Logic and on Rhetoric. Logic, once a prime factor in Oxford teaching,—the ancient and unaltered Logic Lane still commemorates the time when Nominalists and Realists fought, with fists and clubs as well as tongues, over the separate entity of general ideas,—had fallen into discredit ; was maintained only by the technical rules of Dean Aldrich's Compendium : Whately set himself to resuscitate it. In this task he had not to work alone ; that quite half of his achievement was due to Copleston he was never tired of asseverating ; but as Copleston's name did not appear, the whole credit fell to himself. The book replaced Logic teaching in the University on a proper basis, and for twenty years, until super-

sed by J. S. Mill, remained the standing textbook for Honours. Its later critics were of opinion that while its analysis and classification of fallacies was unsurpassable, it was weak on the historical side, ignoring Plato, and treating the Schoolmen as mere logomachists. In fact, his passionate love of Aristotle was accompanied by an indifference to, if not a positive dislike of, Plato. The Rhetoric, also based on Aristotle, was a series of lessons in the art of Composition, and as such retains its value still. These years were perhaps the happiest in his life. His unpopularity failed to wound him, actively disliked as he was only by men to whose sluggishness his energy was a reproach, and whose applause he would have regarded as a discredit: the theological developments which later gave him pain and severed him from old friends and colleagues had not as yet been born. His children were growing up around him, educated on a system of his own, which forbade committal to memory by a child of anything which it did not understand: "To teach by rote mechanically in hope that children will afterwards find out the meaning of what they have learned, is to make them swallow their food first, and chew it afterwards." He felt his power both in the College and the

Hebdomadal Board : his Hall was growing under his hands : with Arnold, married about the same time as himself, he had delightful family intercourse and frequent correspondence : Keble, visiting him at Oxford, read to him the unpublished poems of the "Christian Year"; Nassau Senior, as Political Economy Professor, was often resident. He was amongst the few Heads, another being his friend Shuttleworth, who supported the re-election of Peel. He had always advocated Roman Catholic Emancipation, holding that no man ought to be excluded from any public office in consequence of his religious belief. Such restrictions, he thought, either ostracised persons suitable for the public service, or tempted the unscrupulous to profess a faith which they did not hold : the question of individual fitness seemed to him a matter for the consideration of the electors only. In 1829 he succeeded Senior in the Political Economy Chair, and was setting himself to popularise the Science and to clear it of the fallacies which seemed to him to have encumbered it, when the work was suddenly arrested, and his Oxford career terminated, by his appointment to the Archbishopric of Dublin.

"It was an evil hour," wrote Arnold, "which

took Whately from Oxford, where he was doing great and certain good, to exhaust his powers in what is but an attempt to raise corn out of the sea-sand." Lord Grey had declared himself actuated by a desire "to preserve the Church of Ireland from the dangers with which it was surrounded." The Irish Establishment was in no ecclesiastical sense "the Church of Ireland": it had pillaged a subject nation to decorate a handful of dominant settlers with a lordly lazy hierarchy; it was a solecism and a blunder from its foundation under one Queen to its suppression under another. Numerically it represented an almost negligible minority: "In large districts of Ireland," wrote Whately, "the English Church possesses no place of worship, no congregation;" politically, the sustentation of a foreign garrison by revenues confiscated from the older clergy threw the Catholic priests' maintenance upon their flocks, and welded both together in formidable opposition to English rule, secular and religious. And at this moment the Establishment stood in peril such as had never visited it before: the whole force of Irish democracy, flushed with its triumph in Catholic Emancipation, led by a determined orator and statesman, was focussed

against the Protestant Church : Whately himself saw in the appointment “ a call to the helm of a crazy ship in a storm,” which could be saved only by cutting away the masts and throwing much of the cargo overboard. And apart from its special difficulties, the mere details of the work to which he was called were peculiarly distasteful to his temperament and habits. Trained to concentrate his mind upon some single point, he would be called upon every day to diffuse it over a hundred. Abhorring the conventional side of life, detesting even a formal English dinner party, he must exchange his free and almost Bohemian habits for the dress, demeanour, ceremonies, of an archiepiscopal palace and a Viceregal Court : on the shores of the Liffey the pranks of Christchurch meadow could find no place. Jowett used to relate with a chuckle that when some one condoled with Archbishop Tait on the anxieties of his high position, the canny answer was returned—“ Yes, but there are *compensations*.” To Whately these compensations ; money, rank, state, pomp, precedence, badges,—the *τιμὴ καὶ γέρας* of Aristotle,—were additional plagues and burdens. Add to all this that his elevation, far from being greeted with applause, was met with a howl of disapproval. He was at open war with

both parties in the Church, alike with the dogmatic and the sentimental schools. The Sabbatarians were dismayed at his appointment, for he held with Copleston, Arnold, Baden Powell, that the Fourth Commandment had no binding force on Christians ; either the Commandment is abrogated, or we are bound to observe it without any change of day or relaxation of rigidity. He had reminded readers of his " Logic " that the word " Person " means not an individual but a " character " ; and the heresy-hunters, with Henry of Exeter at their head, denounced him as a Sabellian : the " Blatant Beast," which assailed Sir Artegal on his return from Ireland to England, followed Whately with its vituperation on his entrance into Dublin. Lamenting, for his own sake, for the sake of Oxford, for the sake of England, the " evil hour " which banished him to Hibernian exile, we yet recognise that in accepting a life anxious, toiling, misapprehended, often fruitless, he was influenced, as his friend Copleston proclaimed with generous emphasis, purely by public spirit and a sense of duty : nor through all the wearying years to come, of suspicion, failure, obloquy, does he seem ever to have repented his concession to these principles. He left Oxford in October 1831, escaped from

a Reform Bill mob at Birmingham through having as yet no mitre on his coach, and was enthroned in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

By the Irish clergy and laity he was received with outspoken hostility. Hardly any one, he could write after three years' experience, ever entered on an office with more violent prejudice to encounter; and the slander which assailed himself overflowed on to the heads of his chaplains and diocesan colleagues. Dublin University resented the appointment of an Oxonian; Protestant Ireland thought, and justly thought, that an Irishman should have filled the See: politicians recognised that he had been nominated by a Whig Minister, sponsor to the dreaded Reform Bill: rumours as to his theological opinions had preceded him: he was a sceptic, a Socinian, a papist. The higher class indeed of his constituents, the nobility and gentry of the capital, lavished on their new Archbishop warmth and cordiality of reception; yet their kindness added to his burdens: for general Society he had neither leisure nor inclination; it became clear that the pressure of life in Dublin would be more than he could bear; a country house was engaged four miles from the capital, and there he made his home, transacting business in Dublin

every morning, finding leisure at Redesdale for reading, writing, thinking, and for what now was his only recreation, gardening. His botanical knowledge indeed was considerable: he experimented, in concert with Mr. Baines, Curator of the Trinity College Garden, adding to it seeds and cuttings sent to him from all parts of the world, and corresponding on these subjects with his old friend Dr. Daubeney of Oxford. For a time he enjoyed the friendship and assistance of Hinds, who came with him from Oxford as his chaplain. Hinds, not an Oriel man, had been his private pupil. "Shall I cram you for a First, or form your mind?" he is said to have asked of him. Hinds chose the last, and got a Second Class only, but the pair became lifelong friends. Great aptitude for business, power of penetrating character and motive, strikingly fascinating manner—all in fact that Whately lacked, his chaplain possessed and exercised. Returning to England in ill health after two years of office, he was made, through Whately's influence, Bishop of Norwich. When his elevation was announced, he received a letter from the leading Tractarians, their signatures headed by Keble, asking him to define his religious opinions. He answered that he held the doctrines of the Church of England:

further to specify his views would be to acknowledge the inquisitorial authority of a self-constituted tribunal. He resigned his bishopric after a time, and retired into private life. His leaving Dublin was a great blow to Whately, who, however, found an admirable successor to his friend in Dr. Dickinson, afterwards Bishop of Meath ; while Blanco White, following him from Oxford, lived with him as tutor to his children.

Into his episcopal duties he threw himself with energy. Confirmations, which, as we learn with amazement, had long been discontinued in the diocese, he revived, and maintained with impressive solemnity. He took upon himself the final examination of such candidates for Ordination as had been previously passed by his chaplains. An Irish clergyman recently ordained by him narrated to me once his experience of these interviews. To the candidates, seated solemnly in the Palace dining-room, entered the Archbishop ; strode through the room, and flung himself into a chair. " Now, gentlemen, I'm an infidel ; how will you deal with me ? " One after another essay at conversion was cut short by his strong " No, no " ; until with a shout of satisfaction he hailed the answer of a quiet-looking man, who said, " Faith, I'd ask ye to

prove it." His weekly levées, to which all his clergy were made welcome, were an occasion for propounding questions and discussing difficulties in which his practised power shone forth. Dr. Hinds used to recall at one of these, an argument on points of controversy between the two Churches. Many having spoken, the Archbishop said—"Now let me be a Roman Catholic, and argue with me." One after another attack was made; he foiled them all triumphantly. Dinner ended the conflict, which had left so much disquiet in the guests' minds that they approached him with a request that he would amend the flaws in their several arguments, which he did at once convincingly. In thus removing theological belief from the domain of authority and faith to the region of well-instructed reasoning, the Archbishop probably impressed the lesson which he desired.

The public questions in which he played a part are for the most part long forgotten, and may be so far only noticed as they assist our judgment on his mental character and opinions.

I. As regards matters of purely Irish interest, his great work was the establishment of a Mixed Education Board for Roman Catholic and Protestant schools. It admitted extracts from Scrip-

ture, and an admirable text-book, called "Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences," drawn up by himself, and cordially accepted by the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dr. Murray, a prelate large-minded, generous, and statesmanlike; and it worked well during many years. Under Dr. Murray's successor the book was struck off the curriculum, and Whately withdrew from the Education Board. He used to relate that in the English History which was one of the books replacing the "Lessons," children were taught that Philip II. was one of the best and wisest kings of his time; that Mary of Scots was not only innocent but holy; that James II. was truthful, generous, affectionate, the idol of his people; that William III. was the inventor of blood money, and the patron of Jonathan Wild. He advocated the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and supported the suppression of Anglo-Irish bishoprics under the Church Temporalities Act. In his absence things inevitably went wrong: he obtained from the Crown a Royal Charter for the establishment of a Divinity College in Dublin; but while he was on the Continent a newly appointed Lord Lieutenant, Lord Ebrington, was persuaded by the opponents of the measure to cancel it. He vehemently

denounced the contemplated introduction of the English Poor Law, both as itself wrong in principle, and as unsuited to the requirements of Ireland. He insisted, wherever possible, on his clergy's familiarity with the native language. He urged the compulsory inspection of Convents, on the ground that every public institution, whether school, hospital, or asylum, ought to be open to official investigation : in no other way he felt could the abuse of power be prevented, and the subjects of a free country be protected from tyranny. He opposed the Repeal of the Union on the plea that "while the English Parliament governed Ireland abominably, an Irish Parliament would govern it much worse" : but he desired to see the Viceroyalty abolished, and the Sovereign's visits to Ireland more frequent and prolonged.

2. His views on Imperial questions are interesting at the present moment. When in 1834 the conflict between Lords and Commons was no less acute than has been the case to-day, he proposed to relieve the tension, not by reforming the Constitution, but by restricting the privilege of the Peers. Let it, he said, be incumbent on the Upper House, after throwing out a measure sent to it by the Commons, to transmit a written

statement of their reasons for its rejection. If, after considering this, the Commons in the next succeeding Session reintroduce the rejected measure, and pass it by a majority of the whole House, let it become law without formal acceptance by the Lords. His theory of the right relation between Church and State was much misunderstood, owing, as he complained, to a false assumption that by Church he meant the clergy, by State the laity. He held with the Reformers, that in a professedly Christian nation Church and State are a single and co-extensive Society : that the Sovereign is Head of both : that as in civil affairs he delegates his power to Ministers in Parliament, so in affairs ecclesiastical he should delegate his power to persons duly chosen as representing the community on its religious side : and that to this body should belong the power of final legislation on all ecclesiastical questions. It seemed to him that the two authorities should be kept entirely distinct, herein differing from Arnold, who would have the civil power supreme over both State and Church, "extending the fold," as Whately put it, "so as to include all the sheep." He all along predicted failure to the Reform Bill as a final measure : he would have preferred man-

hood suffrage, with plural voting, and security against canvassing and intimidation. He minimised the "Papal Aggression" of 1849, dreading secret propaganda rather than open arrogance. Finally, he advocated an admission of Dissenters to the Universities, by restoring to Masters of Arts their ancient privilege of opening private Halls: and, as regards the Government of the University, he wished to see the ruling body, then formed by Heads of Houses only, converted, as has long since been done, into an elective chamber.

His hostility to the "Tractites," as he always called them, was uncompromising. He saw from the first their inevitable Romanising tendency, deplored their diversion of the University from its legitimate studies into the mazes of theological controversy, was shocked by the disingenuousness of the Hampden prosecution—"the first outbreak of Tractism, and its success the first great strengthener of the party"—viewed as immoral and dangerous the doctrine of "Reserve," the assumption by the clergy of priestly power, the investment of absolution and benediction with sacramental force. A man on meeting him in the street knelt and asked his blessing. He pronounced it, and turning to his companion,

said, "Answer a fool according to his folly." Archbishop Sumner under the same circumstances once explained to the solicitant that he had no power to give what was sought ; implying apparently that while any ordinary man might say "God bless you" to his fellows, the ejaculation was forbidden to an Archbishop. It is right to add that the story is treated as mythical by Whately's surviving grandchildren ; but it was commonly current when I was in Ireland during his lifetime, and is too characteristic to be omitted. His high view of the Apostolical Succession which had attracted Newman in the Letters of an Episcopalian is not borne out, nay, is discountenanced, in his later writings, which reprobate Sacerdotalism equally with Rationalism and Calvinism. On the other hand he compared the attitude of Newman's friends towards bishops with the asseveration of Addison's Tory Freeholder, who said, "I am for passive obedience and non-resistance, and I will oppose any Ministry or any King that will not maintain this doctrine." So, he said, the Tractites postulate excessive submission to our "Fathers in God," treat with insolence and contumely such bishops as do not agree with them. And thus the severance was complete between himself and the old Oriel friends who

had enlisted in Newman's camp. With Keble he seems to have had no intercourse in later years; one letter only to Pusey is preserved, challenging the tendency of himself and his party to allocate as "judgments" the falling towers of Siloam : and an amusing interview between them is recorded, in which he made Pusey laugh heartily at the proved absurdity of some argument he had advanced. To Newman he wrote in 1834, in consequence of a report current in Oxford, that during Whately's recent visit to Oriel, Newman had absented himself from Chapel, in order to avoid receiving the Communion with his old friend. This Newman denies, but goes on to harp upon the "removal of candlesticks," the suppression that is of Irish bishoprics, and the union of Catholics with Protestants in Irish schools; tracing these acts or connivances to "*principles*, difficult to describe in a few words, with which your reputation is associated." The statement, at once vague and unfriendly, gave Whately pain : he rejoins with pathetic remonstrance against condemning a valued and once trusted friend on mere popular rumour as to his "*principles*." The whole letter, dignified and noble, can hardly have been read by Newman without a pang of self-reproach ; he does not

seem to have answered it. The Archbishop's occasional visits to Oxford were saddened by these estrangements, and not by them alone. From the house of his kinsman Baden Powell in 1838, he laments not only the disunion which controversy had generated amongst former allies, but the blight which had fallen on the literary reputation of his College. "I feel as if I were beholding, not only the dead face of an old friend, but his mouldering and decaying corpse." With Provost Hawkins, however, he maintained friendly relations to the end; of his visits to the Lodge tradition has preserved an anecdote. Hawkins had a horror of tobacco. Going upstairs late one night, his nostrils were assailed by scent of the pernicious weed. He hastened from room to room; at last discovered his guest enjoying a cigar upon the leads.

Other friends were severed from him by death. The loss of Arnold he felt keenly both on public and on private grounds, followed as it was in a few weeks by that of his faithful follower and colleague, Bishop Dickinson. Both were men who, in his own words, "made it their business to bring religion into their daily life and character," and it was felt by those who watched him closely that he was never again quite what

he had been before. His intercourse with Arnold, personally and by letter, had been continuous : unfortunately Dr. Arnold was not in the habit of preserving correspondence. He made haste to visit the bereaved household. They never forgot the comfort which his presence brought to them ; his natural roughness sunk in tenderness to the widow and her children, and in passionate recapitulation of his dead friend's merits. He co-operated in the editing of Arnold's MSS., overruling in some cases objections urged by Stanley. In an advisory letter to Mrs. Arnold he deals with the wish of Stanley and herself to suppress certain Sermons on the plea that they might "give pain to humble-minded persons." "It would," he wrote, "be a sorry sermon which does not. Humble-minded men are especially to be guarded against ; the word means what used to be called arrogant and insolent." He seems to have felt some alarm as to the soundness of Stanley's judgment ; but when the book came out, he wrote expressing his appreciation, eulogising especially the good taste with which the biographer had kept himself out of sight. He gave advice on the subject of proposed monuments, epitaphs, memorials ; insisting, with happy adaptation of a fine passage

from the *De Corona*, that subscriptions towards any of these should not be received from persons who, having stoned him through his life, now wished to build his sepulchre. To Stanley's Life when it appeared he gave warm but discriminating approbation. Other remaining old friends clung to him ; in long letters to Copleston, Senior, the good Duncans, Hinds, Lady Osborne, Mrs. Hill, are revealed not only his mind, temper, sentiments, but the brilliant humour which habitually illustrated and enforced his assertions of opinion and principle. These formed no less the ornament of his talk, of whose force and fluency Guizot has left on record a special note of admiration. When publicly reported it often happened that the witticisms were repeated while the arguments sustained by them were forgotten ; and to his genuine aphorisms, taken from their context, and so mutilated, were added a host of apocryphal anecdotes, or of puns, which he looked upon as intolerable. His thoughts habitually clothed themselves in metaphor. Of those who are for ever postponing political action he said : " When the bed of a torrent is dry, they think that a bridge is not wanted : when the stream comes down, that the bridge cannot be built." Some one commented on the spite,

folly, cruelty, and baseness displayed in a certain controversy by men from whom such conduct could not have been expected. He explained that when a pond seems clear, there is no knowing, until you stir it up, how much mud may be at the bottom. It was remarked that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was more popular than Shakespeare. He answered: "Some light wines are pleasant, and we may prefer them to hock; but they will not *keep* like hock." At the Lord Lieutenant's table Lord Plunket asked him if the Government was justified in what its opponents called "truckling to O'Connell." "I would make use of Satan," he said, "if I could make good use of him; but I would not pay him his price." He advised a young clergyman to begin by addressing the best-informed and best-disposed in his congregation; they would help to reform the ignorant and reprobate. "If you had to kindle a promiscuous pile of wood, where would you apply your light: to the green sticks, or to the dry?" "So — and — have discovered that Arnold was a most estimable man, who did not really at bottom differ from them! I dare say the same discovery will be made of me after I am gone: the bees will come and build combs in the lion's carcase; but

not while the lion is alive." "Contradictory statements in Scripture are meant to modify and check each other. The hedge on the right hand of the road is not the road, nor will it guard against a precipice on the left; the same may be said of the hedge on the left: we must pursue our course between them." He pronounced the men who garbled and distorted Hampden's Bampton Lectures, with the design of holding him up to the hatred and persecution of unthinking prejudice, to be genuine descendants of those Roman Emperors, who dressed up Christians in the skins of beasts, and then set dogs to worry them to death. At an S.P.G. meeting, speeches were made by Bishop Selwyn and by Samuel Wilberforce. To a lady wishing him to compare them he said: "When the moon shines bright, we say, 'How beautiful is the moon;' when the sun shines, 'How beautiful are the hills, fields, trees, which it illuminates,' of the sun itself we do not speak. So the really best orator shines like the sun, you think of the things he advocates; the second best is like the moon, you think only of *him*." "Pity that the horrors of war cannot be truly represented; the details, for instance, of the capture of a single city. The brilliant showy parts *are*

painted ; skill and valour, enterprise and excitement, all that can render war attractive. We have a full display of the beautiful head and bosom of Milton's Sin ; while a veil is thrown over the monsters that spring from her waist." "People who think it easy to govern Ireland because it is poor, half-civilised, full of ignorance, are like the young medical student who imagined that he had learned enough of medicine to doctor very little children." He was fond of denouncing false maxims. Hypocrisy is said to be the homage which Vice pays to Virtue : "No, to *opinion*, not to virtue." Inconsistency is called a crime. "No, it may spring from change of circumstances ; then it is usually a proof of wisdom : from change of opinion ; then it must often be right : from co-existence in the mind of contrary irreconcilable opinions ; that implies a mental not a moral defect." "We are told never to put off till to-morrow what may be done to-day. The converse is almost always true. The morrow usually shows that had you delayed you would have done differently." (This was also a favourite saying, in its converse form, of Lord Melbourne, due in his case probably to laziness rather than to philosophy.) "Habit," Whately would say, so often pro-

verbially quoted, is as often confounded with "custom." The frequent repetition of any act is a custom; the state of mind or body thereby produced is a habit. "Duty," again, cannot be defined; all such attempts are mere tautology. Duty is to do what is right, what is *due*; what we ought or are bound to do; in short, to do our duty.

One of his personal idiosyncrasies was hatred of foreign travel; it interfered with his regular habits, and the petty details which it involved were intolerable to him. He had cultivated no taste for antiquities or architecture; the finest scenery did not to him repay the labour of seeking it; and, like Arthur Stanley, he cared for pictures only as illustrating some great historical event. He would turn away incurious from the masterpieces of Art, Italian, Dutch, Spanish: the only picture which ever arrested him and lingered in his memory was a painting of John Huss before the Council of Constance. Outside Ireland, he more than once presided over the Economic Section at Meetings of the British Association. His not frequent speeches in the House of Lords were heard with marked attention, though he once astonished both friends and foes by a pungent attack upon "Essays and

Reviews," amongst whose authors was his old friend and relative Baden Powell. He made time to annotate Bacon's Essays, and Paley's two greatest works; and he laid before the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition in 1851 a project for a Universal Currency which excited much attention. Though crippled latterly by rheumatic gout, he worked on bravely to the end. In 1861 Sir Richard Jebb records—"The Archbishop preached: the old man shook with paralysis, while he was speaking with the clear calm force and the indescribable self-possession that never fails a real master of argument: it seemed as if his Mind had come down by train to preach, without noticing that it had not put on its best Body." The high appreciation of so competent a critic is valuable in face of the fact, that his preaching, chaste, clear-cut, and unimpassioned, was not universally admired.

The unpopularity which attended his episcopate and pursued him to its close was inseparable from his character and circumstances. To interpose balanced reason and impartial fairness between two factions equally bigoted and bitterly hostile is to incur the hatred of both: Protestants were indignant at his concessions, Romanists

accused him of proselytism. And the current belief in his occasional unfairness was not always devoid of justification. Truthful and without guile himself, he made scant allowance for the unveracity which was a blemish in the Irish character as it was the bane of Irish public life. He sometimes trusted those who saw with partisan vision, believed as literal statements coloured by Celtic exaggeration ; while his persistent admiration and affection for those who had once gained his heart—"all Whately's geese were swans," was Newman's saying—induced a confidence in their judgment which sometimes warped his own ; so that, as his warmest admirers were compelled to admit, he occasionally erred in burning questions of his day. By Catholics, so long as Archbishop Murray lived, he was perhaps better appreciated than by Protestants ; but Murray's successor was hostile, and embittered the attitude of his followers. It is, I learn from those who know them, dutifully believed by Roman Catholics to the present day, that he and his family attempted systematic conversion of the poor by means of bribery under the guise of charity. No evidence of this has ever been offered, beyond the fact that he fed the starved adults and children attending the

Ragged Schools of the Irish Church Mission, finding them too hungry to absorb instruction until, like the disheartened prophet of the Old Testament, they were fortified with a cake baken on the coals. This was given indiscriminately to votaries of both religions; the same benefactions being very properly conferred by the Roman Catholics in their own schools. He would also give alms, with no sentiment but that of kindness, amongst the poor "basket-women" permitted by usage immemorial to vend their wares, including rosaries and Patrick's crosses, around the Palace steps in Stephen's Green. None the less he showed paternal care for voluntary seceders from Romanism, at one time so numerous that it was necessary to license a special building for their worship.

His charities were immense; often anonymous, always unostentatious. He held that the emoluments which he received ought not to descend to his heirs, but should be expended in Ireland during his lifetime. That the Dublin poor, in spite of adverse priestly influence, appreciated his munificence and loved his person, was shown by the crowds who attended his funeral, as well as that of a daughter, the only member of his family who died in Ireland.

The sermon recorded by Jebb must have been nearly, if not quite, his last appearance in public. His wife had been taken from him two years before ; and in 1863, at the age of seventy-six, he died. In his last hours of suffering consciousness a chaplain watching beside his bed read the words of St. Paul, "Who shall change our vile body," &c. "Read the right words," said the dying man. The surprised attendant read again from the English Bible. "Read *his own* words," was repeated ; and the chaplain, turning to the Greek Testament, read—"shall change our body of humiliation." "Right," said the Archbishop ; "nothing that God has made is vile." A characteristic ending—the scholar, humanist, Christian, strong in him to the moment of dissolution.

No martyr he o'er fire and sword victorious,
No saint in silent rapture kneeling on,
No mighty orator with voice so glorious,
That thousands sigh when that sweet sound is
gone.

Yet in Heaven's great cathedral, peradventure,
There are crowns rich above the rest with green,
Places of joy peculiar, where *they* enter,
Whose fires and swords no eye hath ever seen.

They who have known the truth, the truth have spoken,
 With few to understand and few to praise,
 Casting their bread on waters, half heart-broken,
 For men to find it after many days.

The rugged gentleness, the wit, whose glory
 Flashed like a sword because its edge was keen,
 The fine antithesis, the flowing story,
 Beneath such things the sainthood is not seen ;

Till from the pillow of the thinker, lying
 In weakness, comes the teaching then best taught,
 That the true crown for any soul in dying
 Is Christ, not genius, and is faith, not thought.

Rest then, O martyr, passed through anguish mortal,
 Rest then, O saint, sublimely free from doubt,
 Rest then, O patient thinker, o'er the portal
 Where there is peace for brave hearts wearied out.

O long unrecognised, thy love too loving,
 Too wise thy wisdom, and thy truth too free,
 As *on* the teachers after truth are moving,
 They may look *backward* with deep thanks to thee.

CHAPTER IV

ARNOLD

ἐχθίστη δδύνη πολλά φρονέοντα πὲρ μηδένοσ κρατέειν.

ONE only of our Public Schools possesses both an Epic and a Biography. The School is Rugby; the Epic is Tom Brown; the Biography is Stanley's Life of Arnold. This last is one of the seven great biographies in the English language,¹ depicting with exhaustive condensation and abiding literary persuasiveness the creator of a great ideal. It gives us also, incidentally for our present purpose, the traits which link Arnold to the Noetic impulse and enrol him in the Oriel school, as in close sympathy with Copleston, Whately, Hampden; as hostile to the rival theories by which these thinkers were antagonised, succeeded, and supplanted.

Born at Cowes in 1795, the local association of his childhood forming in him that keen interest

¹ I enumerate, with all deference, my six others: Boswell's Life of Johnson, Lockhart's Life of Scott, Southey's Life of Nelson, Lewes' Life of Goethe, Carlyle's Life of Sterling, Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay.

in matters naval and military which continued through his life and illuminated his historical studies, Arnold was educated at Winchester, gaining thence a scholarship at Corpus in 1811. It was a College small in numbers but intellectually distinguished. Its President was John Cooke ; its Vice-President and virtual head was his nephew Dr. Williams, medical Fellow of the College and Sherardian Professor of Botany, whom I can just remember as inhabiting the high-walled house in Rose Lane which overlooks the Physic Garden. His contemporaries and friends were Keble, Tucker, J. T. Coleridge, Trevenen Penrose, Ellison, and Pellew, afterwards Dean of Norwich. The shy stiffness which he had brought from school soon wore off in this animated congenial company : by those who afterwards recorded their recollections of him at this time he was remembered as vehement in argument, fearless in maintenance of opinions which would later have been called "radical," a frequent but embarrassed speaker in the debates of the "Attic Society," which afterwards became the "Union."

As a student, he was a worshipper of Aristotle, Herodotus, Thucydides ; reading also serious books such as Barrow, Hooker, Taylor ; while

in his case as in many more, the imaginative and spiritualising faculty, dormant hitherto, was awakened and sustained by Wordsworth's earlier Poems. He obtained a First Class in 1814, and in the following year became one of the Fellows of Oriel. He owed this distinction, as he owed much besides, to Whately. His English Essay produced an unfavourable effect upon the Examiners ; Whately took it in hand, and showed the great capacities for growth discoverable in the boyish effort. And he was elected accordingly. In that brilliant Society his especial friends were Whately, Hawkins, Keble ; he formed also intimacies with F. C. Blackstone of New College, W. W. Hull, James Randall, Augustus Hare, and Hare's Cambridge brother Julius. During four years he read strenuously in the Oxford Libraries, gaining as they passed the Chancellor's Prizes for the Latin and the English Essays. In 1818 he was ordained ; married not long afterwards Mary Penrose, the sister of his College friend Trevenen Penrose, and in partnership with his brother-in-law Mr. Buckland settled down to private tuition at Laleham, his mother, aunt, and sister inhabiting a house close by his own. Laleham, not much changed to-day, is a picturesque little village, amid bowering

orchards, reedy islands, swans, and houseboats, on a reach of the Thames between Shepperton and Staines. It has a quaint Georgian church, with a somewhat appalling altar-piece, and an able amateur organist drawing many Sunday worshippers. A path deeply trodden in the churchyard grass shows that few visitors fail in a pilgrimage to the Arnold graves. There lie his mother, his sister Susanna, and an infant whom he buried in 1834; there too in an enclosure by themselves are the tombs of Matthew Arnold and his family. The schoolhouse, ruled now by Mr. Buckland's grandson, stands on the village road, with spacious playing-fields behind: on the site of the separate house where Arnold lived is a newly built Rectory, but the retired garden in which he was wont to work and play remains, with its "Campus Martius," and its wilderness of trees, the scene of many a sportive game and many a serious conversation.

His eight years at Laleham were to himself the most important in his life. Their peacefulness gave time for thought to do her part, for his nature to become purposeful, his principles fixed, his religion vital. The doubts which had depressed him in earlier years fell entirely away, giving place to a vivid consciousness of the

Unseen. He became possessed with a feeling, passionate and abiding, of adoration towards Christ as a living Friend and Master : the details of Christ's life as given in the Gospels were to him more exciting than any recent events ; His presence as real and close as that of a commander to his soldiers in the field. He felt, as did a later religious philosopher, with whom he had much in common, R. H. Hutton, a difficulty in realising God under any of the attributes ascribed to Him by Christian terminology : the revelation of "The Father" he believed to be the promise of another life rather than the support of this. His God was Christ, at once divinely excellent and humanly affectionate : his incessant anxiety that history, that literature, that government, that, above all, education, should be "Christian," was an application of this intense conception : "Not truth, not justice, not benevolence, not Christ's mother, not His holiest servants, not His blessed sacraments, nor His very mystical body the Church, but Himself only, who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ both God and Man." Subject to this discernment, his schemes of life now shaped themselves. He had undertaken private tuition not as an implement for money-making nor as the stepping-

stone to something else, but as the vocation of his career. Naturally ambitious, wont to say that the three great objects deserving of human effort were the premiership of a great kingdom, the government of a great empire, the authorship of a great book, to these his present employment may perhaps have suggested the addition of a fourth, the mastership of a great school.

Affectionate reminiscences of the Laleham life have been preserved by various old pupils, recorded by none more graphically than by the most distinguished among them in after-life, the late Professor Bonamy Price. They recall his passionate optimistic happiness in life, his exuberant contentment with his own world, the joy with which he flung himself alike into work and play. "Arnold," says James Mozley, "gushing with the richness of domestic life, the darling of Nature, the overflowing receptacle and enjoyer, with strong healthy gusto, of all her endearments and sweets." They paint Laleham as being on a small scale a rehearsal of his Rugby career; there was the same respect for work as a means towards self-perfecting and as a privileged co-partnership with the Almighty in His beneficent government of the world; the same preference of diligence over brilliancy; the same

prompt dismissal of any boy who in principles and practice was clearly mischievous to his fellows. The labour seems to have been very hard : until the evening he was always occupied with his boys ; his many letters were written, his literary work pursued, only after 9 P.M. And to his teaching he added parochial work ; visiting amongst the poor, and preaching once a fortnight in the church. History, always his favourite subject, filled his slender leisure : he began upon his edition of Thucydides, and wrote articles on various Roman epochs for the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. And in 1825 his historical ardour was further stimulated and his historical ideal revolutionised by his first acquaintance with Niebuhr, to read whose books he learned German, as well as by his introduction to Niebuhr's friend and disciple, Bunsen. It was, lastly, during these ripening years that he matured the intensity of character which became one of his most notable traits ; which flung the whole force of his moral nature on to the interest of the moment, whether of play or work ; on the pursuit of the hour or the prolonged and lasting enterprise, the attack on evil or the support of righteousness, the defence of friends or, it must be owned, the savage mangling of opponents. It used to be said laugh-

ingly that he had invented the word "earnest," and certainly from his lips and pen it both acquired and bequeathed a new force and a more frequent application. But his years of apprenticeship in life and teaching were drawing to a close : in 1827 he was persuaded by his friends to offer himself for the vacant Headmastership of Rugby : there were many notable candidates : on learning their names, Arnold withdrew his own, persuaded that he could not make head against the powerful influence engaged on behalf of some amongst them. Whately persuaded him, at the last moment, to come forward again, and wrote strongly to Sir H. Halford, one of the Trustees, urging that interest should in the election be altogether disregarded. Halford impressed this successfully on his colleagues ; who, when they came to Arnold's name, the last on the list, found that though the testimonials of others owned more imposing signatures, and were couched in more flattering language, none urged so pointedly as his the qualities essential to a great Schoolmaster's career. They are said to have been particularly impressed by a testimonial from Provost Hawkins, predicting that Arnold, if chosen, would change the face of Public School education throughout England. He was unani-

mously elected, and in 1828 took up his residence at Rugby.

That English Public Schools in the opening of the nineteenth century, though superior to continental schools of the same class, were heathenish at the best, at the worst nurseries of vice, has become a commonplace. A famous headmaster of those days indignantly answered a parental question as to the Christian character of his boys by pointing out that he was there in order to teach Greek, not morals. "C'est le meilleur que j'ai jamais vu, et c'est abominable," said Talleyrand on being shown over Eton. The scathing attack of Cowper's "Tirocinium," launched not long before, was echoed by such men as Wilberforce and Bowdler; and the practice of educating their sons at home, with all its manifest disadvantages, was spreading amongst serious-minded parents. Into this welter of inefficiency or mischief came Arnold in the spirit of a Spenserian Knight, with the firm belief that it might be redeemed by application of Christian principle, with equally full resolve that his life and powers should be devoted to the experiment. He found a school, probably no worse, certainly no better, than its contemporaries; Mr. Albert Pell, who entered in 1832, has recorded in his entertaining

Reminiscences the coarse vulgarities, the drinking, smoking, frequenting of low public-houses into which he was introduced. Such as it was, Arnold would redeem it. He came to it as an autocrat, insisting on a free hand in all points of discipline and teaching: the School Governors, Warwickshire country gentlemen, might dismiss him if they pleased, they should not interfere with him.

His reform began with the Masters. He raised their salaries, forbade them to take outside clerical duty, placed the boarding-houses under their charge, established a system of private tuition which assigned to each Master the personal and pastoral care of certain boys; held weekly councils for discussion of and common agreement in all School matters, impressed upon them that without their co-operation he was powerless. But the influence of the masters in an English Public School goes comparatively little way. Left almost entirely to themselves, the boys form an independent society of their own, ruled by a public opinion of irresistible influence and force, which in a bad School—and at that time all Schools were bad—is uniformly low and vicious. To raise the tone of this society, to Christianise this public opinion, was the task



THOMAS ARNOLD.

(From the Oriel portrait by Thomas Phillips, R.A.)

Arnold had to face, and there were times when it filled him with despair. He met it first of all by improving the machinery of the Sixth Form, that is of the thirty senior boys; increasing their power over the Juniors, permitting and encouraging them to enforce that power by the free use of personal chastisement. If tyrants there must be in every School, at Rugby at any rate the tyrant should be not the biggest and strongest, but the oldest, cleverest, most reputable amongst the boys. On these picked few he lavished special confidence, regard, and favour; taught them to look upon themselves as joint conservators with him of the School character; as able even at times to reach evils which no Master could penetrate or control. And further, lest the bad element in the School should successfully defy the Sixth, he introduced a wholesale system of dismissal: the leaders in any such revolt were quietly sent away: "Till a man learns that the first, second, third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great Public School will never be what it ought to be." There were in these cases no public expulsions; *they* were reserved, as before, for offences of the grossest kind: the boy quietly disappeared, sometimes not till the end of the

half year. Of course these measures provoked, as he expected them to do, vehement opposition from without. I well remember how amongst the boys in my own School buzzing talk went round, repeated from the elders at home, of Dr. Arnold's tyranny and harshness : angry letters in the newspapers described cruel tundings by the Seniors, compassionated the bruised backs of Juniors, stigmatised all personal chastisement as degrading. Still greater indignation was caused by the compulsory withdrawal of boys against whom no overt act of flagrant immorality or disobedience was alleged. A boy once entered at a School had a right, it was contended, to remain there, so long as he should steer clear of criminal offences. Arnold quietly went on his way ; the Governors to their credit refused even privately to interpose ; and parents not a few came through later experience to admit that the removal of their sons from School to the care of private Tutors had helped, not retarded, their future weal.

The spirit of his teaching in School was as novel as were his disciplinary methods. For mere cleverness in a boy, divested of moral worth, he had no regard : the boys he revered most were those who, with moderate abilities, were

distinguished for high principle and modesty. And his object in teaching was to awaken the intellect of every individual boy ; he taught by questioning, not by giving information ; herein unlike one of his most famous contemporaries, who would break off early in a Greek or Latin lesson to pour out eloquent general disquisitions on antiquities, history, poetry, or what not. The boys enjoyed it, especially if they had imperfectly prepared the lesson : but the Demosthenes or Juvenal stood still : it was pretty, but it was not Art. Arnold's instruction was interwoven with the processes of the boys' own minds, compelled them to form opinions, and to realise the boundary line between their knowledge and their ignorance. "You come here," he would say, "not so much to read, as to learn how to read." "I call that the best theme," he would say again, "which shows that a boy has read and thought for himself ; that the next best, which shows that he has read several specified books, and has digested what he read ; that the worst, which shows that he has followed but one book, and followed that without reflection." Much more might I quote, garnered from the talk of old Rugbeians whom I have known, now, alas ! a slender surviving band, glad always of a willing

listener to their affectionate outpourings. They describe the tall commanding figure, striding along the lanes beside his wife's white pony on half-holidays. They recall the sternness of aspect and manner by which "Black Arnold," as the boys called him, inspired craven fear in conscious evil-doers, abiding awe even in those who loved him best. They repeople the Library in the Tower where he taught the Sixth, with much to say of his brilliant extempore translations into English, his graphic vitalisation of the author and the age under treatment, his lessons on Modern History and Scripture. They dwell most of all upon those marvellous Sunday sermons, which swept into the current of his own high thoughts and stamped momentarily with the contagion of his own genius all, even the most careless, boys who heard them, and which to us who read them now historically depict the workings of his own mind and the chronicle of his progress in the School.

But Arnold was more than a great Schoolmaster; he was a historian, a divine, a politician: and the crusading spirit which burnt within compelled him to put forth forcibly, as his message to the outer world, his views on all these subjects—"I have a testimony to deliver and I

must write or die.” He contemplated three great works, fragmentary during the distractions of School life, to be matured and completed in the leisure and retirement of his later years ; a History of Rome, a Commentary on the Old and New Testaments, a treatise on Christian Politics. His earlier labours had shown a preference to Greek over Roman History ; his own mind seems to have been Greek rather than Roman : the splendid truthfulness of Thucydides enthralled him in proportion as he was repelled by the falsehood and emptiness of Livy : for Pericles, for Socrates, for Plato, for Alexander, his enthusiasm was passionate and unbounded ; and even over the later age when Greece was living Greece no more he lingered with a melancholy pleasure. But the immensity of the Roman field, its championship of law and order, appealed to him in the end with stronger force, and on Rome he began to write. Three volumes only, as we know, he lived to perfect : throughout the first two he was groping painfully in the dark ; the third, dealing with the Second Punic War, gave full scope to his peculiar powers : in it for the first time appeared an adequate estimate of Hannibal. From his letters, and from his articles in the *Encyclopædia*, we can form some idea of

his judgments on later men and times: his admiration for Pompey, and, in spite of his crimes, for Sylla; his strong moral reprobation of Cæsar, his loathing for Marius, his attitude towards the beginnings of the Christian Church, its revival of Judaic principles, its extinction of individual responsibility, its delight in teachers such as Athanasius and Augustine. He conceived his work with the hope that he might carry it to the coronation of Charles the Great, as Macaulay's opening sentence announced an intention of extending his history to the time of men still living. *Dis aliter visum.*

His Commentary on the Testaments would have carried out his theory that the proper end of Theology was the scientific exposition of Scripture. The dual element in Bible history is obvious to every one; the historical statement of fact is mingled with assertion of divine superintendence. In the opening of the Patriarchal age we have—(1) The familiar material migration of a pastoral nomad tribe; (2) the call of God to Abraham to get him out from his own people into a land which God would show him. So in the tragic story of the first Jewish King we have—(1) A quarrel between Crown and Mitre, between a Pope and Emperor; Saul jealous of

and disobeying Samuel, defeated in the contest, his anger wreaking itself in outrageous acts, culminating in madness and despair: (2) the curtain raised to reveal a Titanic duel over a human soul between a good and evil Spirit from the Lord. As a practised historian, Arnold would check the narrative impartially by the canons of historical criticism; as a divine, he would in accordance with contemporary belief separate and bow before the oracular revelation of an interposing Deity, authenticated by the supernatural inspiration of the sacred writers. How far his mind would have retained this last assumption in the light of later investigation we cannot tell: as it was, he stood between the Bibliolater and the Rationalist; and his book, had it come to the birth instead of being, as it was, merely adumbrated in scattered sermons, must have advanced the cause of biblical study, distorted at the time or imperfectly understood.

His third great contemplated work, on Church and State, or Christian Politics, brings us to the very heart of all his thoughts and actions, differentiating him not only from his Noetic friends, but from all contemporary and past religious writers. To him "Politics" meant what it meant to the great philosophic Statesmen who

first coined and used the word, namely, the Science of human happiness, as the supreme problem which Society is called upon to solve. He belonged to no party : he abhorred Toryism as the spirit of resistance to change, maintaining a selfish conservatism of what has become manifestly untenable, thus retarding and deranging the process of social regeneration. In an aristocracy of birth he saw a bulwark against Jacobinism, though arraigning the insolence of our aristocracy as calling for restrictive reform. Hating Trades Unions—then in their early violent not in their later peaceful stage—he saw in democracy a righteous protest against the injustice shown by the higher to the lower orders. His indignation never mounted higher than against social misery, and the neglect of the clergy to understand and cope with it. He would quote the denunciations of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, St. James ; and warn that these evils unredressed must lead to sanguinary revolution. “Liberalism,” a term then newly invented, stood to him for all those principles of reform which he thought identical with Christianity itself ; but he detested and warned against all party ties, save that which binds to the party of Christ against surrounding wickedness. And if “abhorred,”

“detested,” “hated,” seem to be strong words, they are not too strong to express his passionate energy in advocating all which he believed to make for righteousness, in denouncing and anathematising its contrary.

Of his published views none excited so much interest or aroused against him so much obloquy, as his theory of Church and State. A Christian State, he held, can govern itself only on Christian principles ; through its chosen representatives it must frame and administer laws as in the eye of its great Taskmaster Christ. St. Paul’s reminder to his converts that earthly rulers are vicegerents of the Almighty, that even hated tribute-gatherers and publicans are God’s ministers, indicated in his belief the Christian political verity. To think and speak of the Church as a separate body controlling morals and religion is therefore fatal to this ideal. A Christian State *is* a Christian Church ; it rules in the name of Christ ; its Courts and Legislature, if Christian, are therefore ecclesiastical ; the function, work, and constitution of Church and State is identical ; no severance between them can be conceived which does not impair the Christian character of both. This theory might not, he admitted, for many years be wholly carried into practice ;

but he laboured for its theoretical acceptance as bringing its realisation nearer. He thus received in its fullest sense the Reformation doctrine of the King's Supremacy; a supremacy of the Monarch as representing the Christian State in all causes civil or spiritual, over all persons lay or clerical. The notion that the clergy compose the Church, that a close corporation of priests and bishops whether one or many independently govern the Church, he held to be a fatal falsehood, looking, with Coleridge, on the separation between laity and clergy as the first and fundamental apostasy. Admitting the practical convenience of establishing within the Church a body of men trained to conduct public worship, to study and expound the Scriptures, he could only view them as servants of and appointed by the State, just as he would cause public officials of the State to feel themselves appointed ministers of the Church. Therefore he wished to associate laity and clergy in all convocational Synods: where clergy could not be procured, he would enjoin civil or military officers to offer public prayers and administer the Sacraments, pointing out that Tertullian admits lay officiators in the Eucharist, and that the Church of England nowhere pronounces clerical administration essential

to its validity. He would restore Church discipline ;—more frequent services and communions, crosses and wayside oratories, religious orders of men and women without the snare of perpetual vows. If once the usurpation of a clerical body were removed, all these, he believed, would fall into their place : there would emerge a National Church, which with whatever diversities of ceremonial or opinion would be united by acceptance of Christ's leadership and communion with His Spirit. It should embrace all Christian sects except Unitarians ; these he would admit to the Universities, but would deny to them civil rights : their theism directly contradicted his own ; they clung to the notion of an invisible God ; he could only conceive God at all as revealed in the person of Christ. But he condemned as presumptuous the Trinitarian language of the Athanasian Creed, and believed that its abandonment would greatly improve the present complexion of Unitarianism. Apart from this, he repudiated the damnatory clauses, and argued with some special pleading that the 8th Article was not intended to refer to them.

On all these points he was in direct antagonism to the rising party of the Tracts. He attacked them as teaching the necessity, not the expe-

diency, of Episcopacy ; their reliance on " Tradition," derived by Newman from " Hawkins' unhappy sermon," he called a monster disparaging all reverence for Antiquity, fettering progress and forfeiting the advantages of incessantly accruing experience. He refused authority to the ante-Nicene Church and its General Councils ; conceiving that each particular Church could legislate and determine, under Scripture guidance, for its own members only. Apostolical Succession he vested in the Church, not in the clergy, and denounced the view put forth in the earlier Tracts as a device of Satan to destroy the Church. We remember the horror with which his pupil Stanley first heard this view of Succession propounded by his friend and fellow-undergraduate Roundell Palmer. Arnold called it a profane heraldic theory, making our heavenly inheritance a matter of pedigree, conveying no moral nobleness, nay descending through a breed often contaminated or bad ; morally powerless, intellectually indefinite, incompatible with law and government, substituting a ceremonial for a spiritual Christianity. By it the Newmanites had gained the clergy ; the keynote of their teaching was Sacerdotalism, and that rested on the Succession. The Tracts make the clergy

mediators : " Let us go straight to Christ without leaning on the crutches of the Church." If in some of these points he went beyond his Noetic brethren, he was at one with them in their repudiation of the " Sabbath." They all held that the observance of Sunday is in no way touched by the precept of the Fourth Commandment ; that command was local, temporary, obsolete ; the Christian festival is binding on us as a law of the Spirit, one Lord's day in seven providing for our needs. He estimated the value of the Eucharist by our Lord's own summarised interpretation in St. John vi. 63. The operation of material agency to produce a spiritual effect he held to be opposed to reason and denied by Christ : if meat cannot defile morally, no more can it morally cleanse and strengthen. And he found that wherever value was attached to the *Elements*, in that proportion the true *Sacramentum*, the oath pledging each man to Christ and to his brethren, became less and less regarded.

On the training of the clergy he laid great stress : would make them adepts in Scripture with every help from antiquarian, geographical, philological lore : they should be equipped for preaching by habitual study of the best writers,

secular as well as sacred ; should be good Greek and Hebrew scholars, should be familiar with history, political economy, biographies of good and able men.

Excepting Hooker and Butler, he held a low opinion of English divines : it never seems, he thought, to occur to them whether doctrines which they defend are true or false. In John Bunyan he found greater genius, with truer and more edifying understanding of Christianity, than in any of them. Amongst modern books he had an immense admiration for Macaulay, whose *History*, however, did not appear till after his death : in Carlyle's "*French Revolution*" he found "a comprehension of the true nature of history such as it delighted my heart to meet with" ; and he consulted the sage in 1840 on a scheme which he had much at heart, the formation of a Society devoted to the redemption of the poorer classes. In one respect he was obscurantist : he denied altogether the educational value of Science : he was content that his children should be ignorant of its commonest truths : "The one thing needful for a Christian is Christian moral and political philosophy." And his ideal of National Education he condensed into the phrase "Christianity without Sectarianism."

His views on all these subjects, expressed partly in his contributions to periodical literature, are reiterated in his letters to various friends,—to old Pupils, to Judge Coleridge, Hawkins, Hull, Blackstone, Sir T. Pasley, Whately. With this last his friendship was especially close and constant. It was not a union of opinion: the intellectual temperament of the two men was different, Whately deriving all his conclusions by abstract reasoning, Arnold preferring the investigation of facts. Yet while Whately did not fail to challenge Arnold's precipitancy in argument and action—"You have three faults, rashness, rashness, rashness"—none more truly appreciated the moral nobleness of his character. He admired his friend's contagious buoyancy of spirit; his intense enjoyment of his own life, whose great and unbroken happiness he accepted with mingled gratitude and awe; the strong horror of injustice which alone caused him to suffer from unmerited abuse; his affection, once given, bestowed with passionate ardour; "He was attached to his family as if he had no friends, to his friends as if he had no family, to his country as if he had no family and no friends." And though some of his old associates were separated from him by irreconcilable differences, he always

spoke of them with personal affection and longing for reunion : in the very summer of his death Keble was to have visited him at Fox How.

The severance had indeed been real. Between the years 1834 and 1838 the storm and stress of his battailous life attained their highest tension. Hitherto "Judaising" doctrines, which he believed to have been and to be subversive of Christianity, had existed at Oxford or elsewhere in a vague sporadic form : now suddenly they stood before him concrete, palpable, close at hand. Absent from Oxford during sixteen years, he was unaware of the novel opinions which had been held in common by and had drawn together certain residents, few in number, but able, learned, zealous. The appearance of the Tracts, unfolding a theological system thought out and formulated, shaped by concerted action, energetically propagated, and at once attracting adherents, struck him at first with sheer amazement. Each successive Tract laid down principles which he had all his life been combating ; he saw in them the superstition of a priesthood without its power, a pursuance of objects which, if gained, would make no man better, nor lead to any good, spiritual, intellectual, or moral. And the first combined public action of the new

party, the persecution of Hampden, engineered avowedly by its leaders, with indefensible pleadings, denial of justice to the accused, reference to an irregular and wholly unqualified tribunal, roused his strongest animosity. He longed to fight them on the spot; wished that a post could be found for him in Oxford which would enable him to become resident: and those of us who dally with might-have-beens can see how such an appointment must have changed the aftercourse of theological history in England. Newman's paramount influence was due most of all to his monocracy: amongst the upholders of Reformation principles he found none worthy to oppose him—*nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum*—very many followed him reluctantly, because there was no one else to follow. Arnold, a greater scholar, as great a preacher, as imposing a personality, with convictions equally assured and impact equally forcible, would have formed a rival camp: the beliefs on which Newman trampled would not have gone by default: both parties, perhaps both protagonists, would have learned, gained, been modified, by collision and contact. Oxford residence was impossible to him, but his pen was free, and he relieved his indignation by the tremendous philippic in

the *Edinburgh Review* entitled by its Editor "The Oxford Malignants." Moreover, if what he deemed superstition was confronting him on one side, he was no less disturbed by what he denounced as infidelity on the other. He had accepted the offer of a Fellowship in the newly-founded London University, with the hope of giving to it a religious complexion, of making it "Christian not Sectarian." He proposed and carried a resolution that all candidates for degrees should pass an Examination in the Scriptures. This rule raised opposition, and at a later meeting was rescinded, the Scripture Examination being made permissive, not essential ; after much correspondence he finally withdrew from the Senate.

During these years in fact he not only stood alone, but was the subject of unpopularity amongst his brother clergy as fierce as that which gathered round his friend and contemporary, Hampden. In advocating Roman Catholic claims he had enlarged on the incompetence of the clergy to deal with political topics ; and by his plea for enlarging the national character of the Church an axe was laid to the root of cherished clerical prerogative. Lord Melbourne, desiring to make him a bishop, was deterred by

apprehension of the storm such a nomination must raise. He was withheld by Archbishop Howley from preaching a consecration sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, for the avowed reason that his presence in the metropolitan pulpit would give offence to the clergy; and a motion of censure on his published opinions was all but carried at a meeting of the Rugby Governors. But about the year 1840 the tide began to turn, ushering in for him the close of fierce controversy, and the commencement of a quieter time. His ten years of work had told upon the School; its distinctions were frequent and brilliant, its moral tone approximating to his ideal. The opposition excited by his educational and political views had in a great measure begun to die away; his "Sermons on Prophecy" attracted many who had held aloof from him; and though his disapproval of the Oxford "Judaisers" was unabated, he saw their ground shifting, and foretold the secessions which were shortly to impair their influence. We hear no more of dejection and despair; his interest in life seemed to have revived, his energy showed no decrease, and the serenity of earlier days returned. One remaining trouble haunted him in these years more and more, the sufferings of the lower Orders: he

lamented the apathy of the Clergy towards these disabilities, and endeavoured unsuccessfully to organise a Society for their investigation and remedy, such as has found existence in the "Christian Social Union" of to-day. In 1841 a fresh interest was infused into his life by an offer from Lord Melbourne of the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford. Readers of Dean Stanley's Life will remember the delight which his inaugural Lecture in the Theatre gave to all, the rapture with which his old pupils saw their Idol assume the *superbiam quæsitam meritis*, stand upon the pedestal which, as they felt, he should have occupied long before. In the February following he came up to deliver his first course of seven Lectures ; spending in Oxford with his wife and older children, three weeks of deep enjoyment. Day after day, when his Lecture was over, he would set forth with his favourite pupils, with Stanley, and Lake, and Clough just elected at Oriel, to explore again the old beloved haunts ; Bagley Wood and Shot-over and Horspath, and Cumnor and Elsfeld, and the little valleys behind the Hinckseys which his son was some day to glorify in immortal verse.¹

¹ It was during this visit that for the first and only time he met Newman, sitting next to him in Oriel Hall and Common

With this brief glimpse of his beloved University returned the longing to live in it, but not in the pugnacious spirit of some years before. "He must be of a different constitution from mine, who can wish, in the discharge of a public duty in our common University, to embitter our academical studies with controversy, to excite angry feelings in a place where he has never met with anything but kindness, a place connected in his mind with recollections, associations, and actual feelings, the most prized and the most delightful."

I am old enough to remember the shock which pulsed through England when, in June 1842, the sudden death of Dr. Arnold was announced. Some years earlier the impression would have been coloured by the predilection or the bitterness of partisanship; that had faded now: it was felt only that a great man had fallen—fallen in mid-career, just when his energy was finding new channels, his nobleness taking on a fresh complexion. It was my good fortune to know his distinguished pupil, Lake, the late Dean of Durham; and to hear from his lips, with the charm of first-

Room. Hawkins, his host, was unnecessarily nervous: the talk—it could hardly be otherwise—was general and harmless.

hand recital, those recollections which were condensed into Stanley's closing chapter. He described his stroll with Arnold on the evening of June 11th, when, like the Prophet and his disciple, "they two went on and talked;" the portentous news which met him as he descended next morning to the breakfast table; the blank mute torpor of that long Sunday; his night journey to Fox How, his early morning drive through the exquisite Rothay valley to the home where the younger children were awaiting their father's arrival and preparing to celebrate his birthday; their return to see his face in death. He lies in the Chapel consecrated by his weekly Parables; his best-known epitaph not there, but in the filial lines of the inspired son who inherited his father's genius:—

O strong soul, by what shore
 Tarriest thou now? for that force
 Surely has not been in vain:
 Somewhere surely, afar,
 In the sounding labour-house vast
 Of Being, is practised that strength,
 Zealous, beneficent, firm.

Yes! in some far shining sphere
 Still thou performest the word
 Of the Spirit in whom thou dost live,

Prompt, unwearied, as here !
Still thou upraisest with zeal
The humble good from the ground,
Sternly represses the bad !
Still, like a trumpet, dost rouse
Those who with half-open eyes
Tread the borderland dim
Twixt vice and virtue ; revisitest,
Succourest ! this was thy work,
This was thy life upon earth.

We were weary, and we
Fearful, and we in our march
Fain to drop down and to die.
Still thou turnedst, and still
Beckonedst the trembler, and still
Gavest to the weary thy hand.
If in the path of the world
Stones might have wounded thy feet,
Toil and dejection have tried
Thy spirit, of that we saw
Nothing—to us thou wert still
Cheerful, and helpful, and firm !

Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself ;
And, at the end of the day,
O faithful shepherd ! to come
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand.

CHAPTER V

HAMPDEN

He's truly valiant, that can wisely suffer
The worst that men can breathe, and make his wrongs
His outside, wear them, like his raiment, carelessly,
And ne'er prefer his injuries to his heart,
To bring *it* into danger.

THERE are men whose lot it is to become the occasion, not the cause, of strife ; who without conscious challenge or desert find themselves the centre of controversial storms and the victims of malignant persecutions. Such a man was Hampden. Gentle, peaceful, diffident ; deeply religious, and carefully loyal to his Church, he was branded by the clergy as a heretic, and was followed through twelve years with unremitting animosity, not only theological but personal. No one now reads his learned works : the volume of his Bampton Lectures which I disinterred from a College Library, venerable in disuse, dust, and damp, came to pieces in defiance of my careful reverent handling : but all who feel interest in Oxford life of the nineteenth century must pay

some attention to the "Hampden rows," as they were called, of 1836 and 1847.

A descendant of the famous patriot, born at Barbadoes in 1793, RENN DICKSON HAMPDEN, member of a family which had fled from England at the Restoration, and resided ever since in the West Indies, was sent to this country at five years old, and placed until his eighteenth year under the care of Mr. Rowlandson, Vicar of Warminster, to whose influence on his intellectual development and his religious character he paid throughout his life a tribute of affectionate gratitude. In 1811 he entered Oriel as a Commoner, under the tuition of Copleston and Davison. His intimate friends were Ingham of his own College, and Hinds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. His only recreation was music, which he shared with Trefusis, afterwards Lord Clinton, and with Packe, afterwards M.P. for Leicestershire, who sate in later life for Bulwer Lytton's Squire Hazeldean in "My Novel." The shyness and diffidence which distinguished him through life was conspicuous in undergraduate days, and is noticed in a letter written from Oriel to Mr. Rowlandson by his tutor Davison. Carrying an introduction to Southey at Keswick during a Long Vacation ramble, he lost heart on approaching Greta Hall,

and while actually at the door turned and fled. Reading without private tuition, he gained a Double First in 1813, and was in the following year elected to a Fellowship at Oriel. Ordained early, and soon afterwards married to his cousin Mary Lovell, he served several country curacies, then settled in London, publishing there in 1827 his first work, on the "Philosophical Evidence of Christianity." It was written in homage to Bishop Butler, being, as he called it, a reverent attempt to expand, clear, modernise on its antiquated and faulty side the splendid structure of the Analogy; and was followed in 1828 by a volume of Parochial Sermons. Soon afterwards he removed to Oxford; examining in the Schools, and writing amongst other Articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* a Paper on Thomas Aquinas, which contained the germ of his Bampton Lectures. These last were preached in 1832, and about the same time he obliged his old friend Hawkins, now Provost, by undertaking a Tutorship at Oriel during the dislocation of College work caused by Hawkins' dismissal of the three famous Tutors, Newman, Hurrell Froude, and Robert Wilberforce.

The course of Christianity, as of all other

organised religions, has been marked by recurrent struggles between Reason and Authority; between the speculations of the few and the dogmas of the majority. These took shape in the so-called heresies of the Early Church with their rebutting Creeds; in the great Lutheran revolt, in the English Protestant Reformation. But there was a period of ecclesiastical history which contrived a specious reconciliation of these opposing principles; a period when unbounded liberty of discussion was permitted and pursued strictly within the limits set by the Doctors of the Church. The faithful might not question dogma, but might speculate upon it to any extent. The thinkers and writers of this period were called *Schoolmen*; their teaching is known as the *Scholastic Philosophy*, and it formed the subject of Hampden's Bampton Lectures. The word Scholastic or Scholarly was applied originally in an invidious sense to those whose aim in doctrine and in writing was not to render service to mankind, but to parade themselves as erudite and eloquent, *scholastici et disertí*. Later it obtained and still holds a secondary meaning from the Disputations of the Schools with which it came to be associated. Founded on the system and employing the method of Aristotle, and

engaging powerful intellects in its service, it dominated for five hundred years the teaching of the Church. It created a theological terminology. Trinitarianism with its Substance and its Persons, Predestination, Justification, Sanctification, Grace, Perfection, Merit, Assurance, with many more such technicalities, are terms traceable to scholastic discussion ; and their acquired meaning continued to shape men's modes of thought, until the system, based as it was on deductions from the imaginary nature of God, received its deathblow amongst the higher class of thinkers from the inductive philosophy of Bacon.

Its most popular text-book was a work known as "The Book of the Sentences" by Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, a pupil of the great Abelard. This was a compilation of passages from the writings of eminent Latin doctors, and was imitated from a "Treatise on the Orthodox Faith" by John Damascenus, a Greek monk of the eighth century. It is not remarkable for logical precision ; but the form of "Questions" under which it discusses theological topics was continued by Peter Lombard's successors, and became characteristic of the School. He was followed by Albert the Great (1193), and by

Albert's illustrious disciple, Thomas Aquinas.¹ The task which these writers set themselves was to dilate and expand, to endow with method and distinctness, the dogmas which the Church had sanctioned ; and they performed it with exhaustive penetration, thought, and skill, with consummate perfection of workmanship. But their art was purely dialectical : founding theology on definitions, its whole force was employed on verbal analysis. The barrenness and absurdity of those later disquisitions, which have been used, unfairly often, to cover scholasticism with ridicule ; such as the query whether the world was created in six days because six is the most perfect number, or if six be the most perfect number because the world was created in six days : together with that mysterious but popular conundrum, "*An magna Chimæra, bombinans in vacuo, edat secundas intentiones ;*" were only an application of its original and sanctioned processes to inferior material, often by inferior hands. It ignored at once the historical, the rhetorical,

¹ The following were the most eminent of the Schoolmen : Johannes Scotus Erigena (886) ; Anselm (1038-1109) ; William of Champeaux (died 1121) ; Peter Lombard (died 1160) ; Alexander of Hales (died 1245) ; Bonaventure (died 1274) ; Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) ; Thomas Aquinas (1225-1270) ; Duns Scotus (died 1308) ; Buridan (died about 1350) ; Johannes Gerson (1368-1429).

the ethical character of the Scriptures : immersed in the philosophy of the Divine Being, it altogether disparaged Revelation as a code of moral discipline. Even now it is no dead relic : its survival in our English University disputation for degrees in Divinity has become a farce : but in the Roman Church it still holds visible sway ; the texture of Roman theology is formed by the metaphysics of the Schools. It subsists among Protestant churches in the form of controversy as to Original Sin, Regeneration, Faith, and Works : the very practice of preaching from a "text" is a remnant from Scholasticism. And so long as Religion is made *professional* ; so long as the religion of the few is divorced from that of the many ; so long as Sentiment and Contemplation override practical and altruistic piety ; to that extent the spirit of Anselm, of Lombard, of Aquinas, is not dead but living.

This is an outline of the Lectures. They are filled with matters of collateral interest not often brought together ; such as the conflict between Nominalism and Realism,¹ the Pelagian con-

¹ That Abstract Ideas have no separate entity was the doctrine of the Nominalists : the Realists held that such ideas possess an independent and separate existence. This metaphysical distinction, over which men fought with clubs and swords in the Oxford High Street, may perhaps illustrate for

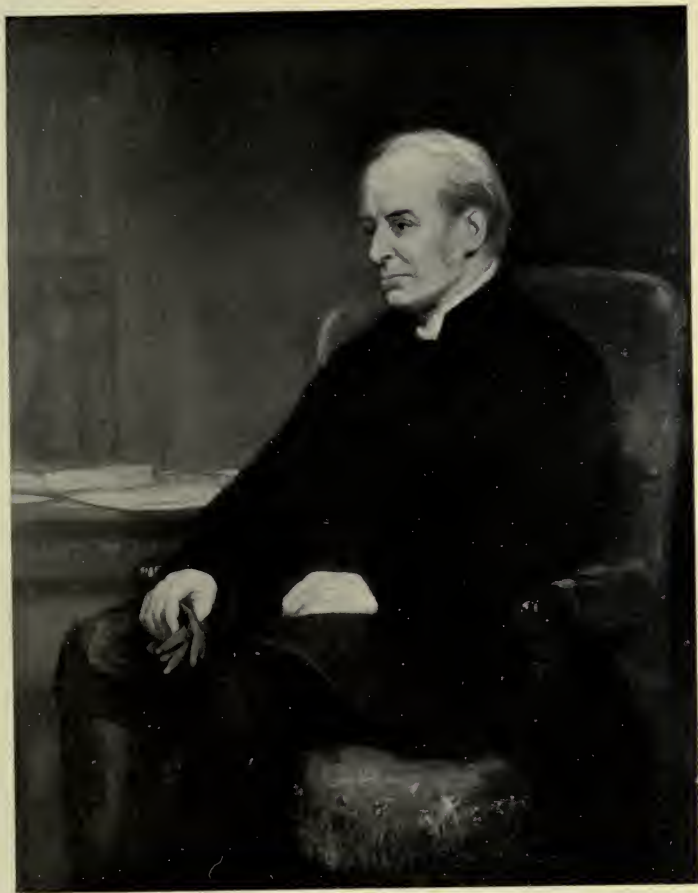
troversy, the rationale of the "Filioque," the technical philosophy of Transubstantiation. It may be said—and without fear of contradiction, since no one now reads or will read the book—that it exhibits wide, well-focussed learning, and that it filled a gap in English theological literature.

How were the Lectures received at the time? By very large congregations, says Hampden's biographer: by empty benches, says Tom Mozley. That vivacious anecdotist does not always hold a mirror up to Truth: but it is quite possible that the audiences, eager and curious at first, became fit though few as the dryness of the subject was manifested. When published, Arnold wrote admiring them: "Hampden's Bampton Lectures are a great work, entirely true in their main points and I think most useful." Whately recalls long afterwards the high applause with which they were received by experts: Miss Hampden notes the many letters from inquiring students which poured in as they were read. Certainly no adverse contemporary criticism, theological or literary, was cited later by the heresy-hunters. Were they original? An asser-

the general reader the character and the value of militant School Divinity.

tion, first made in the *Times*, and widely repeated in the Press, declared them to be from the pen of Blanco White. They owed much, we may believe, to White's intimate acquaintance with a subject at that time known to few, if any, English Divines. Old Canon Hinds Howell, who died only a few years ago, was Blanco White's pupil in 1831 and 1832. He told me that for a year together scarcely a day passed without Hampden's coming in to consult his learned friend. But to advise a writer on points within one's ken is not to write his book: the Lectures are written in the style of Hampden, not of White: their thought and handling bear the stamp of the School in which Hampden had been nursed: Whately, who knew both men well, conclusively contradicted the report: nor can any one read the much earlier Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity, without discerning in it the germ of the Bampton Lectures.

In 1833 Hampden was appointed by the Chancellor, Lord Grenville, on Whately's strong recommendation, to the Headship of St. Mary's Hall. It had been a refuge for men older than the generality of undergraduates, under the grandfatherly rule of Dr. Dean and his Vice-Principal, George Radcliffe. Of Dean I believe



RENN DICKSON HAMPDEN
(From the Oriel portrait by Sir Daniel Macnee)

no memories remain; Radcliffe was a "character." Tall, rubicund, outrageously corpulent, Johnsonese in speech and manner, he served on Sundays the little church at Radley, through the week entertained to nightly cards and hot supper in his handsome rooms at the Hall a few of the cheery revellers, male and female, whose unproductive wit and knowledge misapplied formed, in strong contrast to the contemporary Oriel aristocracy, the charm and possibly the discredit of early nineteenth century Oxford. Dismissed by Hampden, he lived on for many years at a small house in Holywell, taking a few boys as pupils, and recounting to his friends with sarcastic comments and with frequent Greek quotations the story of his dethronement and the glories of a vanished epoch. Under his lenient sway the men had lived comfortable, tranquil lives, untroubled by vexatious discipline, or by more teaching than was just necessary for a Pass degree. Hampden amended the discipline, added to the buildings, weeded out the inveterates, so invigorated the teaching that in the second year after his appointment one of his men, Charles Yonge, obtained First Class Honours.

In 1834 a proposal was laid before the University to substitute a declaration of assent for a

subscription by oath to the Articles on matriculation. Rejected in Convocation, it drew from Hampden a pamphlet on "Religious Dissent," advocating admission of Dissenters. The treatise had a large sale, and occasioned a letter of warm approval from Dr. Arnold, who had come up to vote for the relaxation of the oath. "I often think," he wrote, "of the instructive fact, that the Reformation of the Church in the sixteenth century was carried by a reforming Government, supported by a small minority of the clergy, against the majority of the clergy, the country gentlemen, and the populace." Its tolerant spirit towards Nonconformity, and its statement that the authority of Scripture was of greater weight than the authority of the Church, excited bitter resentment in the rising Newman School, and was the prime cause of the subsequent persecution of Hampden. In the same year he was appointed to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy, and lectured in due course. His Lectures, when published, were pronounced by Whately to contain clear thought, enthusiasm for his subject, and much beauty of diction.

In 1836, on the death of Dr. Burton, Lord Melbourne offered to Hampden the Regius Professorship of Divinity. Thereupon arose an

unexpected and violent outcry. Hampden had many enemies. His plea for Dissenters had, as we have seen, given deadly offence. The clergy looked upon the Universities as Church preserves, the intrusion within whose pale of non-subscribing schismatics would be the abomination of desolation. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, had deprived Thirlwall of his College Lectureship for presuming to support a similar measure, and Hampden's advocacy of it was not forgotten in Oxford. It was, moreover, a time of keen political excitement: nine-tenths of the non-residents and a large proportion of the residents were Tories; Hampden was a Liberal. The Noetic doctrines, of which he was an exponent, struck at the root of the new Tractarian teaching: in his University Sermons he had attacked their tenets and their practices; in an eloquent Lecture he had denounced their favourite theory, the acceptance of unwritten tradition as distinct from Scripture. It was their policy to combine and direct the scattered hostility which he had provoked. His opinions expressed against themselves could not disqualify him for a theological professorship, but in his Bampton Lectures heresy might perhaps be found. A committee was formed, headed nominally by Vaughan

Thomas of Corpus, really engineered by Pusey and Newman : the first put out a pamphlet, the second a volume. This last was called "Elucidation of the Leading Views contained in Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures"; extracts, that is, from the Lectures to substantiate a charge of heresy. The Common Rooms were bombarded with a succession of placards containing ever fresh allegations; these were circulated in the country parsonages; a petition was sent to the Archbishop, entreating him to invoke the personal interposition of the King. Hampden's name stood rubric on the walls and plastered posts; was vilipended from the pulpit of St. Mary's;¹ was made to ring through the land with the epithets attached to it of heretic, latitudinarian, sceptic. He wrote to Lord Melbourne offering to withdraw if the Government felt itself embarrassed by the uproar: the Prime Minister refused concession to what he regarded as an unworthy outcry; was touched by his nominee's disinterestedness; sought his personal acquaintance; exhorted him to disregard the clamour: "Be easy, Doctor; I like an easy man." George Anthony

¹ Lancaster of Queen's, Usher of Magdalen College School, spoke of him in a sermon at St. Mary's as "that atrocious professor." The scandalised College deprived him of his preaching turns, and he published two protesting pamphlets.

Denison always used to say that Newman and his friends had only themselves to thank for the appointment. Lord Melbourne had intended to nominate Edward Denison, Fellow of Merton, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury ; but he was told that the Tractarians were persecuting Hampden for his pamphlet, and so gave the preference to him. Newman himself had taken hitherto no outward part against Hampden, feeling that such action on his part might seem like spite for the new Professor's acceptance of the Oriel Tutorship when he was dismissed by Hawkins : but so soon as the nomination was announced, he at once drew up the "Elucidations" (written, it was said, in a single night), on the strength of which the Bampton Lectures were called heretical.

The new Professor must be endured : but it was possible to inflict upon him a maiming stigma : and a statute was proposed to Convocation excluding Dr. Hampden from his place on the Board which appointed the Select Preachers. The tale is graphically told by Nassau Senior, who was present. He describes the crowd in the Theatre, composed chiefly of country clergy inquiring eagerly as to the merits of the case from men who might be supposed to know, but did not ; Vaughan Thomas' Latin oration ; the interposing

non placet of the Proctors, E. G. Bayley of Pembroke and H. Reynolds of Jesus; the frantic yells and groans from the foiled Inquisitors; the abrupt dissolving of the Convocation and exit of the Vice-Chancellor. With more accommodating Proctors the measure was reintroduced next year and passed: but it was pronounced illegal by the leading lawyers of the day. The Heads, regretting their previous action, pressed for its repeal, but found the Convocation inexorable; they therefore created a new Board of Examiners in Theology, placing Hampden at its head.

Looking back with calmness now upon the whole proceeding, we are driven to admit four things. First, that the arraigned Lectures had been for several years before the University, not only without adverse criticism but with warm applause. Secondly, that since their publication the Chancellor had distinguished Dr. Hampden by appointment to the Headship of a Hall, the University by his election to the Moral Philosophy Chair, no remonstrance being offered in either case from any quarter. Thirdly, that probably not one in a hundred of the voters had read the Lectures, or, if read, was qualified to sit in judgment on them: while the "Elucidations" from which such men formed their opinion

were garbled: sentences detached from their context, qualifying words omitted, perverse interpretations intruded, the main drift of argument ignored, and single passages perverted to the accuser's purpose. Fourthly, that no formal charge was ever brought against the Lecturer, nor any opportunity given to him of self-defence. On crooked dealings Nemesis is wont to wait. In the condemnation of Newman's Tract, and in Pusey's suspension by the Six Doctors, the ingredient of the chalice they had brewed was commended to their own lips.

The appointment was confirmed, the agitation died away,—for a season;—and the new Professor entered zealously on the duties of his office. They involved a curious episode, known as the “Macmullen case,” which drew much attention at the time. The Rev. R. G. Macmullen of Corpus, who afterwards seceded to Rome, offered himself as a Candidate for the Bachelor in Divinity degree. It was the Professor's duty to propose subjects for the necessary exercise, which Hampden did; but Macmullen desired to have them changed, alleging that to dispute upon them would be painful to him. Pointing out that they were framed consistently with the Thirty-nine Articles, Hampden refused to change

them : the Courts of Law, appealed to by Macmullen, justified the Professor's decision ; Macmullen gave in and accepted them. Hampden's courses of public and private Lectures were numerous attended, and highly appreciated by his pupils : as Incumbent of Ewelme, a Living attached to the Professorship, he spent his vacations happily in the duties of a Parish Priest, greatly beloved by his parishioners. Myself a frequent visitor in 1852 to the beautiful little village, with its picturesque cottages, its sparkling trout stream, its noble fifteenth century church erected by a Duchess of Suffolk who is supposed on somewhat legendary grounds to have been a granddaughter of the poet Chaucer, I well remember the respect and affection with which the villagers still spoke of their former Rector. It was a great delight to him, in 1843, to take part in a commemoration of his famous ancestor's death at Chalgrove Field, only a few miles from Ewelme.

In 1847 Hampden was recommended to the Queen by Lord John Russell for the vacant See of Hereford. The opposition of 1836 was forthwith resumed, by the same party and with the same weapons. Newman indeed was severed

from his old associates, and the welfare of the English Church was to him no longer matter of concern; but his "Elucidations" were republished without his knowledge or permission. Meetings of the country clergy were everywhere called in protest, and a remonstrance signed by thirteen bishops was presented to the Prime Minister, stating that the appointment would cause uneasiness among the clergy, and would abate their confidence in the righteous exercise of the royal supremacy. Lord John declined to recognise a feeling "founded on misapprehension and fomented by prejudice." Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, Hampden's diocesan, initiated proceedings officially against the bishop designate, and afterwards withdrew them with a confession strangely damaging to himself. Merewether, Dean of Hereford, informing the Prime Minister of his intention to forbid the affixing of the Chapter seal to the instrument of election, received an answer which has become historic.¹ On the other hand the Heads of Houses in a body revoked their former censure and assured the

¹ "SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 22nd instant, in which you intimate to me your intention of violating the law.—Yours &c., J. RUSSELL."

I have seen the original letter. It was formerly in the collection of Miss Kinglake, sister to Eothen.

bishop designate of their confidence ; Provost Hawkins defended his old colleague in a letter to Wilberforce of veiled but cutting rebuke ; individual dignitaries like Dr. Cramer and Archdeacon Hare volunteered their sympathy and indignation ; a general address, bearing 2000 signatures, came from statesmen, scholars, professional men of note. Time had done its softening, educating effect on all except the clergy. Long afterwards, Mr. Gladstone, refusing, as a member of the King's College Council, to condemn Maurice on grounds not specifically formulated and allowing no defence to the accused, perceived that his vote against Hampden twenty years before had infringed the same principles, and wrote expressing his regret. But the struggle was not over. The election passed the Hereford Chapter, though not unanimously : the " Confirmation " in Bow Church was opposed by three clergymen, who, when their demur was overruled by the Vicar-General, applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus*, and the question was argued for six days before Justices Erle, Coleridge, Patteson, and Lord Denman. The Court was divided ; the opposition consequently failed. Copleston, present in Court, was the first to announce the news to his old pupil and friend,

and Hampden returned victorious to Oxford. I well remember his appearance in the High Street on the following day : he might be pardoned if amid the exultation of some and the visible disappointment of others his own demeanour indicated the triumph which he felt.

The long struggle was at an end ; and he took peaceable possession of his See. Throughout the conflict he had behaved with perfect temper, dignity, and self-restraint ; but his shy, sensitive temperament had suffered severely from the publicity thrust upon him : *monstrari digito prætereuntium* was as painful to him as it was gratifying to the Roman Laureate ; and his affectionate nature was severely lacerated by the averted faces or the open frowns of lifelong friends. None the less, he had emerged blameless as well as victorious from the ordeal, and sought glad refuge in the comparative retirement of his beautiful Hereford home and the congenial duties of his new position. He rose at once to the high conception of episcopal duties which was becoming general in the English Church, exercising wide and close supervision of his diocese, establishing intimate relations with his clergy, stimulating the educational efforts which had not then been subsidised by the State, meeting the

sectarian problem as it could then and cannot now be solved, by prescribing catechetical instruction with a conscience clause. He forbade the introduction of novel ritual, wherever, though not in itself unlawful, it wounded the prepossessions of parishioners. As regards Church politics generally he opposed the revival of Convocation, and looked with genuine alarm on the possible disestablishment of the Church. He was also conservative theologically, accepting the Scripture miracles, censuring the view taken of them in "Essays and Reviews," denouncing Colenso's book, on the not very conclusive ground that the credit due to an alleged history must be decided not by the rules of arithmetic, but by the evidence of facts in the world and the probabilities in its favour from that evidence. Eighteen works stand against his name in the British Museum Catalogue.

His personal habits may be briefly noticed. He had great power of mental concentration; writing and reading always in the midst of his family undisturbed by playing children or by talk. He avoided general society, refusing to season his fireside with gossip; "I wish," said a highly conversational lady who had sate by him at dinner, "I wish your friend the Bishop would

at least remember that it is a fine day, or that the weather is cold ; ” but with persons well-informed and erudite he was an animated and agreeable talker. His own knowledge was extensive ; and he knew the contents of his library intimately : a voracious reader, he had Scott’s love for the binding and condition of his books, with Macaulay’s power of assimilating their contents by rapid skimming of the pages. He had Gladstone’s passion for Homer, devouring him with ever fresh enjoyment. Like Gladstone too he cultivated the lighter side of scholarship ; one of his latest mental efforts was a translation into Greek of Toplady’s famous hymn. He loved the Waverley Novels, the “Antiquary” and “Ivanhoe” being his favourites ; he used to say that Scott had more of Shakespeare in him than any poet of the age. Till late in life he had never opened Tennyson, but was subjugated to read and admire him by a chance perusal of *Enoch Arden*. Throughout his life he was a musical enthusiast, frequenting concerts on every opportunity, attending the Hereford Festival within a twelvemonth of his death. He died in 1868, after an episcopal reign of twenty years ; and was laid by the side of his beloved wife in the Cemetery at Kensal Green.

CHAPTER VI

HAWKINS

Hic est Præpositus, Cunctis oppositus,
Qui magna gerit, et tempus terit, dum parva quærit.
Vir reverendus, sed—diligendus.

IN the year 1862 a Microscopical Society, of which I happened to be Secretary, came into existence at Oxford. A note from the Provost of Oriel requested me to call upon him, and I went. After some pleasant reference to my Father, his old friend, he told me that he had heard of our Society; that he viewed with great interest all new departures of an intellectual kind within the University, and was glad to be associated with them; that he knew nothing of Science or of Microscopes, but that he was not too old to learn, and desired to enrol himself among our Members. So he came to all our Meetings, the one avowed Inscientist amongst us; looked through our instruments, listened attentively, but silently, to our discussions. Cordially welcomed by our seniors, Acland, Phillips, Rolleston, and the rest, he gave I think

to all of us an object lesson in the unwearied intelligence which at seventy-four years old still sought out fresh woods and pastures new.

EDWARD HAWKINS, son to a country clergyman, and grandson of a famous surgeon, Sir Cæsar Hawkins, was born in 1789, educated at Merchant Taylors, came up to St. John's College, Oxford in 1807, obtained a Double First Class in 1811, was elected to a Fellowship of Oriel in 1813; being two years junior in the College to Whately, a year senior to Arnold and to Hampden. His wish was to study Law, and those who knew him best described his mind as of an essentially legal texture: but his widowed mother and her younger children were in great measure dependent on his exertions, and the pecuniary prospects of an Oxford life were more hopeful than those of the Bar. So after a short visit with a pupil to Paris, whence with many other Englishmen he was driven by the return of Napoleon from Elba, he settled down in College, publishing an edition of "Paradise Lost" with much classical erudition in its illustrative notes, and great abundance of quotation; preaching also a set of Bampton Lectures on "The Connected Uses of the Principal Means for attaining Chris-

tian Truth," which under a clumsy title correlated the functions of the Bible and of the Church. In 1823 he became Vicar of St. Mary's, where he introduced the afternoon sermons which at a later time under Newman were famous. The appointment brought peace to the soul of junior Oriel ; for it compelled him to resign the office of "Censor Theologicus," which had for some years past imposed upon him the duty of inspecting and correcting the abstracts of University Sermons exacted from every undergraduate. This had in earlier hands been a somewhat loose performance : the Censor examined the exercises perfunctorily or not at all ; the men wrote what the text seemed to demand, or what the preacher might be supposed to have said, or deputed one of their number to be present, and copied his production, with a few judicious alterations. Hawkins invariably attended the sermons, followed and retained their substance, and demanded of each man evidence that he had been present, and had attentively followed the preaching. He used to boast of being the only man who had understood and could describe the Bampton Lectures of a certain Archdeacon Goddard. This gentleman was wont to take brief jottings into the pulpit, and expand them

as he proceeded, with much iteration and incoherence. Hawkins took careful notes, and reduced the chaos on his return. That the result was his own, not Goddard's, he would admit; but he preserved and showed the composition, as crediting him, in one matter at least, with a Monopoly of Knowledge.

In 1822 Newman had been elected Fellow, and has told us how much he owed to Hawkins, gaining from his friend's lips his own first conception of the Church as a divinely constituted organisation, together with a belief in baptismal regeneration and in the value of Tradition. "He was the first who taught me to weigh my words and be cautious in my statements. He led me to that mode of limiting and clearing my sense in discussion and controversy which to my surprise has since been considered to savour of the polemic of Rome." Hawkins had preached in 1818 a notable sermon on Tradition, urging a view novel at the time and original so far as he was himself concerned, that doctrine must be *learned* from the formularies of the Church, only *proved* from Scripture. It brought him into direct conflict with the Noetic teaching, in which he had hitherto concurred, as held by Whately, Baden Powell, Hampden, Arnold.

In 1828, on the removal of Copleston to Llandaff, he became Provost of Oriel. That he should have been preferred above Keble testifies his extraordinary reputation in the College. Had the election been contested, its issue is uncertain ; but learning that half the Fellows were likely to support Hawkins, Keble withdrew : " Let good old Hawkins walk over the course." I have seen it stated that Newman intended to vote for Hawkins against Keble : this is not the case : he acquiesced in the decision of his colleagues, but declared that he could not have voted against Keble. Burgon, with one of his queer eyes always on the comic side of everything, has preserved on Golightly's authority an amusing incident in the election. Custom demanded that the College gate should be closed, the Fellows drawn up within, the Provost elect detained without : that the latter should knock for admission, the gate be opened, the Provost admitted and received. These formalities were duly observed. A knock was heard, and Newman, the Dean, asked *Quis adest ?* " Please, Sir, it's me," was the half audible response : the gate was opened, and through the double line of expectant Fellows marched, buckbasket in hand, the College washer-woman. Once more the gate was closed : soon

came three peremptory knocks : and to the invocation *Quis adest?* pealed the answer, "*Edvardus Hawkins, Hujusce Collegii Præpositus.*"

So the new Provost entered on his forty-six years of rule. To the Headship were annexed a Canonry of Rochester and the Rectory of Purleigh in Essex. In the last he installed an efficient and highly paid *locum tenens*, and would gladly have been relieved from its responsibility ; against the severance of the Canonry from the Headship he fought to the end of his life. It made a clerical Provost inevitable ; and he opined that no layman could discharge the duties of a College Head ; pleading further that its augmentation of his stipend was essential to the dignity, and by no means incommensurate with the labours of the office. I remember once in Congregation his declaiming on "the very arduous duties of a College Head." Thorold Rogers caused great merriment by saying that he had no very clear idea of what the Provost's duties were, but that he would cheerfully discharge them for half the Provost's salary. "It was the right thing to say, but it needed a brigand to say it," was Moral Philosophy Wilson's comment to some of us who sate around him.

From the first he was despotic in the College,

and in his intercourse with the Fellows watchfully jealous of his authority. His dismissal of the three Tutors, Newman, Hurrell Froude, Robert Wilberforce, whose conception of their duty to undergraduates threatened to set up brothers near the throne, has become historic. It is thought I believe by the present Fellows that, as matter of collegiate policy, the step he took was judicious ; but his action seems to have been dictated by personal apprehension. He feared that tutorial independence would leave him out of the current of College education, and that the introduction of new and unfamiliar books, already initiated by the three Tutors, would place him at a disadvantage in Collections. He called in the aid of Hampden to tide over the crisis ; and replaced the three by G. A. Denison, and the younger Copleston, men moving on a less exalted plane, but unlikely to disturb their Provost with rivalry. The change, taken in connection with Hawkins' tenure of power, would seem to have been at the time unfortunate for the College. Mark Pattison, an undergraduate when that took place, speaks of it as the turning-point in the fortunes of Oriel. "From this date the College began to go downhill, both in the calibre of the men who obtained Fellowships

and in the style and tone of the undergraduates.” And Dean Lake, surveying his own Oxford days, attributes altogether to Hawkins the dethronement of Oriel from its supremacy among the Colleges. He was not less masterful on the Hebdomadal Board, at that time composed of the Heads, with the Proctors for the year, and the one primary legislative body. His legal mind, assiduous attendance, practical common-sense, business-like habit, and resolute temperament, gave him undisputed ascendancy over all his colleagues. He met his match only once in Lake, who during his Proctor’s year played the part of Village Hampden much to Hawkins’ discomfiture. He was amongst the first to denounce the Tracts : his pen drafted the condemnation of Tract 90, which, vetoed by the Proctors in 1841, was perhaps justified by subsequent events. He had discerned the instant at which the Movement passed from a Catholic to a Romeward tendency, nor was he disarmed, as were many, by Newman’s violent denunciations of Rome in 1837-41. In his own volumes on “Scriptural Types and Sacraments,” his pamphlets on the “Ministry of Men” and on the theory of Apostolical Succession, he warned against the dangers towards which Newman and

his friends were drifting ; but both in the pulpit and with the pen he was *impar congressus* : in spite of him the Man and the Movement ran their course until the Hegira from Littlemore in 1845.

A few years of quiet succeeded, during which he accepted and ably discharged Dean Ireland's Professorship of Scriptural Exegesis. At this time too was painted by F. Grant the portrait which now hangs in the College Hall. But fresh combat was in store. In 1854 was passed the Act of Parliament, founded on the Royal Commission of 1851, which reformed the government of the University, altered the Statutes of the Colleges, and redistributed their emoluments. That such reforms were necessary, and must originate not from within but from without the University, has long since been admitted by every one ; but they aroused Hawkins' resentment. They offended his conservatism, his absolutism, his clericalism. He refused to answer the Commissioners' letter of inquiry ; memorialised, and wrote, and spoke ; of course in vain : laid to heart at last the consoling close of Horace's beautiful Ode ; accepted patiently what he could not alter, and played his part, submissively if not quite cheerfully, in the new order of things.

He piqued himself on his attitude towards the undergraduates : took pains, Mark Pattison tells us, to know each of them individually ; questioned each freshman privately before admitting him to the Holy Communion ; exercised towards them punctual hospitality ; would mitigate where possible in Collections the wrath expressed against some weak brother by his Tutors. One offence he could not overlook : you might count on leniency in minor peccadilloes ; might hope that in grave offences mercy would season justice : but you must not smell of smoke : of the nasty weed—so he always called it—he had King James' horror. I am afraid that the genius of youth is more sensitive to eccentricities than to benevolence ; for the anecdotes which reach me from old Orielites of long ago illustrate chiefly the comic side of Hawkins' rule.¹ They tell for instance that it was his custom to give one finger to a Commoner, the whole hand to a "Tuft," and that he was somewhat embarrassed when a certain man went down as Mr. —, came back as Lord — of —. An Oriel undergraduate took to preaching in St. Ebbe's slums : Hawkins angrily inhibited him. "But, Sir, if the Lord,

¹ Some of the anecdotes which follow have been told in the "Reminiscences of Oxford"; but it was impossible to omit them here.

who commanded me to preach, came suddenly to judgment, what should I do?" "I," said Hawkins, "will take the whole responsibility of that upon myself." He would grant an *exeat* during term time only in very special cases. A man begged leave to absent himself in order to bury his uncle. "You may go," was the reluctant permission; "but I wish it had been a nearer relation." His high and dry churchmanship made him impartially intolerant. Of the Newmanism he always spoke as "the late unhappy movement," nor was he less severe upon "Essays and Reviews," not perceiving that their teaching sprang lineally from that of his own Noetic brethren. When Edward Irving's son obtained a First Class at Balliol and wished to stand for an Oriel Fellowship, Hawkins declined to receive him unless he would formally recant his father's opinions. In this to be sure he was no worse than old Gaisford, who when "Sam" Gardiner the historian thought it his duty to communicate to the Dean his adoption of Irvingite opinions, gave him no answer, but sent for the College books and erased his name. To J. A. Froude, the reputed (and actual) author of "Shadows of the Clouds," he refused a certificate when standing for a Fellowship at Exeter.

Froude was elected there through the influence of Sewell, who looked on him as a promising High Churchman, and was correspondingly savage when undeceived by the publication of the "Nemesis of Faith." When Jowett was bitten by a Balliol dog, and the culprit was expelled from the College, the joke went round that Hawkins had received the animal and tenderly entertained it. Yet on the other hand he refused to accept the resignation of Blanco White, who wrote avowing himself anti-Trinitarian ; and dissuaded Clough from taking a similar step prematurely in his first distracted mood.

His talent was destructive rather than constructive, detecting flaws in other men's ideas rather than originating his own. He had an intellect subtle and penetrating, not wide and comprehensive : Whately would compare Tyler to a south wind warm and blustering, Hawkins to an east wind keen and searching. He seemed to think that every one required damping : a young man at his table, when a certain periodical was discussed, volunteered the statement that it contained Papers from his own pen. "I dare-say," said the Provost, "there is a good deal of trash published in it." Walking in the garden he noticed that in one place the ivy seemed to

have been frequently brushed aside. Assembling the scouts, he asked which young gentleman's trousers had green on them of late. The culprit, thus detected, was already in bad odour through irregular habits, and was sent down. Sharp and shrewd and practical, his mind wanted largeness : a master of detail, he was deficient in grasp, and lived amongst minutiae until his accuracy became pettiness, his conscientiousness scrupulosity, his over-exactness destructive of sentiment and warmth. He had neither the unchallengeable lordliness of Copleston, on whom as Provost he professed to model himself, nor the analytic, logical, all comprehending certitude of Whately, nor the crusading contagious vehemence of Arnold : his intellect, like Ezekiel's cherubs, went straight forward and turned not when it went, *but*—it moved in narrow ways. He was the converse of the Sweet Auburn pastor ; his virtues leaned to the side of failings. They were therefore troublesome to those around him ; he would needs take into his keeping not only his own but his neighbour's conscience, insisting on what you ought to think, as well as on what you ought to do. "He provoked me very often," said Newman, and, he added with a very probable surmise, "I daresay I as often provoked him."

He hated and severely repressed what Byron



PROVOST HAWKINS

(From the Oriel portrait by Sir Francis Grant, R.A.)

used to call "enthusymusy." Men feared to preach before him: he mercilessly snubbed Newman's early St. Clement's sermons. Burgon delivered in his presence a carefully prepared discourse on the Sabbath walk of the two disciples, and expected commendation. All he got was—"Emmāus? why do you call it Emmāus? it is Emmāus, Emmāus, *Emmāus*." A lady spoke to him ecstatically of the poems in the "Christian Year": "Can you understand them?" he said, sticking out his chin as was his wont. On his resignation of the Headship Pusey came to bid him a lugubrious, probably, he feared, a final farewell. "Not at all," said the youthful octogenarian in his sharpest, crispest tones, "we shall most likely often meet here again." He lived curiously in the past: at a time when Australia was becoming one of the realms of gold, and Englishmen had long dominated the vast continent, he still conceived of it as in his childhood, and would allude in his sermons to "the degraded savages of New Holland."

Lastly, let us rejoice in proclaiming that his fine moral instincts were tinged by no distortion, weakness, or absurdity: they ruled him continuously and generously from the cradle to the grave. The springs of his private munificence were never dry: no deserving case was ever put

before him unalleviated. From the age of seventeen, when they became orphans on their father's death, he played a father's part to each brother and sister in turn until they were launched self-supporting into life.

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni,
Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.

And children, instinctive judges of natural benevolence, were always fond of him: like Whately and like Hampden, he loved and enjoyed their society.

With his withdrawal to Rochester the public interest of his life ceases. He amused himself with gardening, delighted in the Cathedral Services, dominated the Chapter as he had ruled the Heads. Obstructive at Oxford, he appears to have been iconoclast at Rochester. At four-score we find him writing to a friend that in consequence of the age and infirmity of some among the Canons he found it necessary to bestow increasing attention on Cathedral business; and, like old Routh, he never to the end passed on himself the sentence of decrepitude. He died after a brief illness in his ninety-third year, and was laid in the Cathedral precincts.

CHAPTER VII

BADEN POWELL

The laws of Nature are the thoughts of Nature ; and these are the thoughts of God.

IN this pregnant dictum of Oersted, which he often quoted, we find a key to the intellectual ambition of the remarkable philosopher who comes next upon our list. The Noetic brotherhood included only one Scientist, PROFESSOR BADEN POWELL. At once fearless and devout, an accomplished savant and a studious divine, he not only extended in many departments the progress of mathematical, astronomical, and physical inquiry, but worked out, with ability and boldness, with a single-minded aspiration after truth, yet in a calm and temperate spirit, those attractive problems of the relation between science and religion, which his contemporaries for the most part only handled in support of personal and party preconceptions, or shirked through fear of the odium which they were certain to excite. He was born at Stamford Hill in 1796, the son of a Kentish country gentleman. From

twelve to seventeen years old he was taught Classics, Mathematics, and Divinity, by a succession of private tutors ; and in 1814 was entered at Oriel as a Commoner. His contemporaries at the University were men well known in later years as Charles or " Commentary " Girdlestone, Edward Greswell, John Leicester Adolphus, Hartley Coleridge, Ogilvie, Rickards the friend of Keble, Archdeacon Clerke, Plumtre afterwards Master of University, Bethell, Howard afterwards Lord Carlisle. Daubeney, his lifelong friend and ally in the struggle on behalf of Science, was by a year or two his senior. In 1817 he obtained a First Class in Mathematics ; was soon afterwards ordained ; became Curate at Midhurst ; was presented to the Vicarage of Plumstead ; marrying in 1821, and leading for six years an active parochial life. A treatise on Optics, published in 1824, caused his election to a Fellowship of the Royal Society ; and in 1827 he succeeded Rigaud as Savilian Professor of Geometry, returning thereupon to Oxford, and for many years inhabiting the professorial house in New College Lane, once the residence of Halley, whose telescope stand was in my time still visible on the housetop. For the professorship Babbage was a candidate, strove hard to be

elected, and keenly felt the preference given to Powell ; but he bore no malice, the two became fast friends, and so remained until Baden Powell's death. The influence of his old Provost, Copleston, then Bishop of Llandaff, but still all powerful at Oxford, had been strongly exerted in favour of his election to the Chair : we find the new Professor consulting him as to an inaugural Lecture, the Bishop advising that in the elementary condition of Oxford Mathematics a Lecture would not attract an audience, and that the credit of the University and its Professor would be better consulted by the publication of philosophical essays and scientific researches. The advice was taken : he had already printed in the Royal Society's Transactions a Paper on Radiant Heat : now, in 1828, he published independently a Paper on the Elements of Curves ; and shortly after a work on the Differential Calculus. His Lectures meanwhile were attended by a select if limited audience. When in 1870 Dr. Ridding introduced Physical Science into the Winchester School work, he stimulated the enthusiasm of his Science Teachers by telling them with what delight he had formerly watched and imitated Baden Powell's skilful management of the minute light-waves. Many more Papers followed as the

years passed ; on Light and Heat, on Foucault's Pendulum and Gyroscope, on Comte's "Philosophie Positive," with biographical notices in various Quarterly Reviews of eminent philosophers such as Newton, Young, Arago. On the same lines as these last was his "Historical View of the Progress of Physical and Mathematical Science from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time," published in 1834.

In 1836 his wife died ; and in the following year he was married to Charlotte Pope, sister of his friend Mrs. Whately. She died in 1844, leaving four children, the oldest of whom, Miss Charlotte Elizabeth Powell, still survives ; and has favoured me with some highly interesting reminiscences of her father as she recalls him during her childish life. At her mother's death she was only in her seventh year, but became his constant playmate and companion, until at twelve years old she passed under the guardianship of an aunt. She tells how he would take her with him for walks in the College Gardens or in Christchurch meadow, would allow her to sit silently employed with pictures or with pencil and paper while he worked amid his books and instruments. She learned to watch for the pauses in his work, when her questions would

please and interest him. "I well remember," she says, "his sitting absorbed and engrossed with his eye at the little telescope, focussing his darkened glasses to the long beam of light admitted through the shutters, or lighting the mysterious spirit flame, and working with prisms and lenses. I would watch with puzzled interest until he had noted down his observations; and then when I questioned him, he would take me on his knee and show me the effect of the magnifying lens, and let me look through the pieces of coloured glass, and interest me in the prismatic spectrum cast on the wall by the prism in the window. I recollect too how amused and pleased he seemed if next day I remembered the names of the colours; or how, in default of these desired pictures, he would interest me in the illustrating plates of a mathematical treatise; telling me the names of the figures there portrayed, and calling my attention to similar shapes in surrounding objects, while my attempts to pronounce their names, and my indifferent success in remembering them, seemed to amuse and please him greatly.

"My father evidently enjoyed the task of making a child understand; and what he taught one never forgot. I remember one day, when

the search for a picture-book produced only an illustrated astronomical work, he tried to convey some ideas of the sun and planets to the minds of me and my five-year-old brother; and how he, seated in his chair, had to represent the sun, while we moved around him in our orbits, he laughing heartily at my attempts to pirouette on my own axis as I revolved!

“Our evenings were always spent with him after his six o’clock dinner, and then my brother, three years younger than myself, and I, enjoyed our children’s hour. He would bring out what was then a charming novelty in toys, a kaleidoscope, whose principle he tried to explain to us by folding a disc of paper into its segments, cutting out a pattern in it, and then unfolding it and showing how the pattern multiplied itself. Often he would play Handel’s marches on his chamber organ for us to march to with military tramp around the room, always correcting any failure in keeping time. Sometimes he taught us old-fashioned hymns and songs, and, as we grew older, simple rounds and catches; or he would draw for us delightful funny pictures of fairies, imps, and bogies.

“My father was not given to lavish toys on children; he would rather make, and show

how to make, playthings for ourselves : he would cut out whole menageries of card animals that could stand upon their feet, and teach us how to construct card boxes and dolls' telescopes. Sometimes he showed us how lead was melted in a little iron ladle over the fire. Then when the long Oxford winter was over we two would be the companions of his daily walks, which as we grew older became increasingly interesting. In the early spring we would pick our way among the islets of the still half-flooded meadows, Papa alone venturing on more precarious footholds, to cut for us sheaves of the willow blossoms ; or crossing swampy places to where the fritillaries, white and purple, were in bloom, and bringing us back a bunch. In summer our expeditions carried us along the Cherwell, whence he would reach for us with a hooked stick he had made for the purpose, just two or three glorious blossoms of the white water-lily, always carefully disarranging as little as possible the remaining beauties. These we were to bring home to Mamma ; for as time went on he had fulfilled his promise to us that he would bring home Miss Henrietta Smyth, a kind and delightful young lady, to take care of us and become his wife.

“ Besides the quest for wild flowers, in which

he always took great interest, he encouraged us to collect natural curiosities, such as fossils, river shells, and wings of insects ; often bringing us home from his longer walks ammonites and corals from the Headington quarries, selenites from the hillside, or petrifications from its calcareous stream. And then one evening he had for us a delightful surprise, in a real glass-doored cabinet wherein to bestow our collection of curiosities, which I think we hoped in time would rival the Ashmolean Museum. Our visits to that quaint old preserve had been a frequent wet-day treat to us, from the very childish time when he used to lift me up to stroke the stuffed zebra or the tall giraffe, until the more advanced days when he could explain to us the very miscellaneous specimens exhibited, of fossils and minerals, New Zealand industrial productions, antique Roman pottery, Guy Fawkes' lantern, King Alfred's jewel, or the colossal wasps' nest.

"I think my father must have had a very remarkable power as a teacher ; he *insisted* on being understood, repeating his instruction in ever more simplified form, and with varied illustrations, until the young mind had at last mastered the conception or got at least some rough but intelligent idea of his explanation, or of his

answer to the questions which he always encouraged us to put. Those were the days when educational ideas seem to have been in the smelting-pot: the High School system was not yet heard of; cramming for competitive examinations did not exist for girls; and my father, like many teachers, had a reactionary horror of learning by rote and rule: the plan adopted by such thinkers on education as Dr. Whately and himself being rather to make instruction discursive, varied, and entertaining. I have no doubt that these home lessons, given by so widely cultured and accurate a teacher, as supplementary to the conventional instructions of our daily governess, were of great importance to us in after life.

“My father was exceedingly fond of drawing, a talent which he inherited from his father, Mr. Powell of Langton, Kent, who, untaught except by his close observation of nature, could draw every kind of tree with such beautiful accuracy that oak, beech, or elm, near or distant, had their distinguishing growth and foliage unmistakably delineated. My father also was untaught; a very great pity, since his pen-and-ink sketches of Kentish and Oxford scenery were admirable. His oil-paintings were perhaps not

so successful, owing partly to the want of a good choice in pigments and materials, and a too close adherence to what he conceived to be the rules of the old masters. Still they were always luminous landscapes, and had the very spirit of the Kentish scenery about them. His knowledge of drawing stood him in good stead when he was preparing on large sheets of slate-coloured paper the chalk-and-water diagrams that were to illustrate his lectures both on geometry and on the phenomena of light. In this work he would often call on us to help him, letting us mix the pigments, and paste together the sheets, explaining their import as we worked.

“He was extremely particular as to the books his children read; and in letting us look at illustrations of Dickens, or the pictures in a great ‘Arabian Nights,’ which lay on the drawing-room table, he put us on our honour not to read, but only to look at the pictures, saying that the books were ‘too old for us’; and I remember feeling it quite out of the question to disobey. He corrected our childish hymn-book with a view to avoid what he considered wrong teaching. I have the copy now in which he has changed ‘when to the House of God we go’ into ‘when to the House of Prayer we go’; and,

again, 'and never break the Sabbath day' into 'and love and serve Thee every day.' The word Sabbath he everywhere changed into 'Lord's Day'; dwelling on the truths, that no material building can be under the Christian dispensation the 'House of God' as was the Temple; and that, freed as Gentile believers from the ceremonial law, we were not bound to the Jewish Sabbath, but that the memorial of the Resurrection Day had taken its place.

"My father made me bring my little reference New Testament every morning to read with him as the subject of a Scripture lesson, and the same plan was followed of simplifying things which might be considered too difficult for a child, by the presentation of some central thought in the narrative or passage. Thus I still remember, in reading with him parts of the Epistle to the Hebrews, his explanation of the difference between the two dispensations, the ritual of Judaism being intended to point to the one Sacrifice of the Cross. I imagine that what seemed to him the Romanising theories just then coming into fashion through the influence of Dr. Pusey and others, led my father to feel the great importance of writing and preaching on the differences between Christianity and Judaism,

between a chosen Nation with a literal temple, and a universal Church with spiritual worship. Certainly I received the elements of that doctrine from him in those early lessons.

“In later years, when I was in my aunt’s home, from obvious motives of respect, my father’s theological writings, and his contribution to the ‘Essays and Reviews,’ were never discussed in his children’s presence. His views were not accepted, possibly were not understood, by our other relatives, but all we knew was that differences of opinion existed ; his simple devoutness and faith, his adherence to the truths of the Gospel and the teaching of the New Testament, were never in our hearing impugned.

“Besides his love of drawing and music my father had the true artistic taste in directions then everywhere overlooked : at a time, for instance, when art as applied to house decoration was almost non-existent, he admired, and taught us to admire, the simple grace of correct form. A falsely curved glass or jug, or a vulgarly painted vase, was a horror to him, and eschewing instinctively the paltry early Victorian ornamentation, he furnished our home with a severe chasteness as to colour and outline. Specimens of crystals and fossils, and simple glasses of flowers,

were our chief home decorations, with a few good engravings and portraits in old-fashioned black frames, on the self-tinted walls. I have heard that as a boy my father had shown so much appreciation of Gothic buildings, and also so much skill in mechanical construction, that his sisters had thought architecture would be his chosen calling. But this taste was never developed. His boyhood was passed chiefly in Kent, where among the ferny lanes and oak woods, and the rose-embowered old cottages of an unspoilt village, he learned his love of the picturesque. In one form or other, Art was the relief and enjoyment of his busy life. For games of skill or chance he had not any liking. I never saw a card or a counter in his hand. In pen-and-ink or sepia sketching, in playing on the drawing-room organ, constructed with a bellows fitted to the foot, he found ample amusement for his leisure.

“My father must have first met my mother, Miss Charlotte Pope, either when she was living at Tunbridge Wells with her brother, the incumbent of the old Chapel of Ease, not far from his home at Langton, or when she stayed at Oxford with the Whatelys ; Dr. Whately having married her eldest sister. I was old enough to

observe, and well remember their evident happy attachment to each other, and his grief when she died at Tunbridge Wells in 1844. But he could not have found a more devoted wife than my stepmother, able as she was by her scientific education, and her many talents, to enter into all his pursuits with corresponding knowledge, as well as with the zeal of truest and tenderest love. She made him an ideal companion, and the ten sons and daughters who followed that marriage were a great delight to him. He did not, however, live to see even his eldest boy, my brother, Baden Henry, attain full manhood. It was in the sorrowful year of his father's death that he managed successfully to pass the first Indian Civil Service Examination, and he went out the following year to India; while the youngest child, also named Baden after my father, was but an infant when he died; while Stephenson, afterwards the general, was too young to have any recollection of him. He had lost two little daughters and a son before that.

“My father's disposition must, I think, have been singularly free from evil thinkings, envyings, and censoriousness: an equable gentleness seemed to me to be his characteristic. He was never in the least touchy, and would laugh or smile

quietly at things which would have angered many men. He had, I believe, no desire to be first, or to gain applause, though anxious to see others agree with him in what he believed to be the truth. Divergences from old friends on theological and philosophical subjects may have pained him, but never made him uncourteous in speaking of them, or unwilling to meet them in the old friendly way. He was no doubt misunderstood by many men of strong religious views through their believing that his theories involved rejection of truths appealing to themselves. They could not understand that whether inconsistently or not he held through all differences none the less firmly than themselves to the faith of Christ, in spite of the deference he paid to the writings of biblical critics, and to the dicta of geology, when its theories impugned the Mosaic writings. In some way that they could not explain, although, outside the reef, a surf of objections and difficulties raged, the inner lagoon of his faith remained calm and untroubled to the last."

Some minds are self-contained : ever storing knowledge, they are satisfied with the pleasure of acquiring, and care not to communicate, fearing

apparently lest by the act of its transmission virtue should go out of them. They pass away, obituarised as monuments of erudition, leave behind them only a half-written book and a sheaf of fugitive uncompleted fasciculi. Other minds are educative; they garner in order that they may give out, *sciunt ut operentur*; find joy in the mere act of teaching others. Of this last class was Powell: he not only submitted his conclusions and discoveries to the criticism of his equals, but eagerly shared them with the humbler class from whom at that time culture was shut out. We find him from the beginning of the forties a gratuitous popular platform lecturer not only to the Oxford citizens, but at remote Mechanics' Institutes, at the Polytechnic, at Crosby Hall, at the Russell Institution, at newly-founded Women's Colleges; lavishing his knowledge on the Eton boys, exerting himself to found Public Libraries and Reading Rooms. His repute thus early established as among the most notable Physicists of his day, he entered also on a field of work to which attention has been already drawn, the relation of Science to Theology. His first effort in this direction, "Revelation and Science," was followed in 1839 by "Tradition Unveiled," a production which drew



PROFESSOR BADEN POWELL

(From a portrait by Eddis, in the possession of Mrs. Baden-Powell)

from Whately two letters of great critical value. The Archbishop warns his friend that the idea of an operative creating God cannot be inferred from Natural Theology, which teaches only the presence of an ordering Intelligence, leaving the nature and attributes of such Intelligence to be approached by other lines of argument. That the Professor laid to heart this caution is obvious to the student of his later "Philosophy of Creation," and to the principles of investigation which he formulated in a remarkable Article entitled "Free Enquiry in Theology the Basis of Truth and Liberality," contributed by him in 1849 to "Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature." No less than twenty-six theological treatises, articles, or books, stand against his name in the British Museum Catalogue; but their teaching is most fully drawn out in the three works which occupied his later years: "The Unity of Worlds," "Christianity without Judaism," and "The Order of Nature." These I may proceed to analyse.

These three books, taken together, form a series. The writer begins by explaining the nature of the inductive process on which all philosophical reasoning depends, laying stress on the power of Abstraction and the perception of Analogies. He illustrates this by reference to

accepted scientific discoveries, such as the undulatory theory of Light, the doctrine of the inverse squares of distances, the law of equal areas ; pointing to the accordancy revealed in all of them between Reason and Nature. It follows, he says, that Nature's unity is reflected in the unity of those Sciences which investigate it. The divisions of Science are provisional and convenient merely. They attack different sides of Nature and are at present in different stages of advance, yet all approximate to the revelation of Nature's unity, all reflect in common a reality in the designing Mind.

In pursuing the inductive process there are dangers to be guarded against. Exceptions, provisionally admitted as principles by great philosophers, are sometimes accepted by their unwary followers as not provisional but final. The higher and wider generalisations are slowly reached, and their acceptance when reached retarded, through alarm on the part of their discoverers at the anomalies which they seem to involve ; although the highest philosophy views such anomalies as unreal, as arising from present imperfect knowledge, and to be inevitably reconciled by future discovery. Nature is of necessity uniform ; and the sure triumph over apparent

exceptions at once establishes that uniformity and supports the general evidence of a Supreme Mind in the sequence of natural events.

In the *sequence*—yes: but the incautious philosopher is again often led astray by a false theory of *Causation*. In discovering the *causes* of things he pretends to penetrate the efficient power by which matter acts on matter, as analogous to the exercise of volition by a voluntary agent on material objects within his control. Of such efficient power induction yields no evidence; invariable *sequence* of one effect after another is all that we can infer. And if we choose to call the one a *cause*, the other an effect, we must understand cause to represent antecedeny merely, not creative power. To say that one phenomenon has *caused* another is to refer both to a law which both obey; and this obedience, this vindication of unity, arrangement, order, enables us to treat the connected series of *physical causation* as manifesting *moral causation*.

From this fallacious estimate of Causation has sprung a further confusion in the assumption of a First or Final Cause, referring the adaptation of means in Nature to a perceptible and beneficent end. This is contrary to experience: the

supposed beneficent ends are often not attained, are thwarted by disease, malformation, death.

Nature, red in tooth and claw
With rapine, shrieks against the creed ;

it is not supported by Induction. Of such end, such motives, such adjustment towards that end in obedience to these motives, the Philosopher discovers nothing : to him Natural Theology is the manifestation of design in the order of the universe, and he speaks of design with reference to order and arrangement in Nature, not to practical utility. By tracing out the sequence of physical causes he is convinced of the existence not of a great Physical Cause but of a great Moral Cause ; and knows that the assumption of a supreme Mind is not the basis of his belief in Nature's uniformity but a conclusion from it. " Assume God," says Coleridge, " and the whole order and beauty of the universe becomes intelligible : " but our idea of God, he elsewhere points out, flows from the order and beauty of the universe : so that he would have us first prove God from the Cosmos, then the Cosmos from God.

Sometimes it is argued from the limitations of Nature that a region of mystery surrounds the

frontiers of Science, and that this undiscovered country is the domain of God. But the boundary line of Science is continually extending, the region of mystery progressively converted into the conquests of discovery ; the supposed divine region invaded and annexed. Newton, not at first discerning the full force of his own principle as leading to the doctrine of stability, thought that a time must come when only divine interposition could restore the equilibrium. This was applauded as an argument for the necessity of a supreme interfering Power. It came ere long to be known that planetary disturbances so compensate each other that no permanent derangement could arise ; and with this discovery the argument vanished.

So, too, famine, pestilence, earthquakes, war, have been held up as direct appointments, or even specialised as "judgments" of an intervening Power. But deeper knowledge has made it evident that punishment is occasioned not by the caprice of the Unseen, but by its laws : it does not break its laws to harm mankind ; its laws harm men when they break them. Law, order, physical causation, uniformity and universality of action, manifest divinity and providence ; their apparent interruptions no more

prove divine caprice than a passing cloud proves irregularity in the sun's action. The universe is not an immensity of arbitrary and inscrutable darkness in which the inductive world of the philosopher forms an insignificant exception, but a boundless cosmos, a universe of perfect order, increased evidence of which is obtained by every advance of Inductive Science. Science confesses its present limited conception of Divine perfection ; sees omnipotence in the maintenance of laws, not in their interruption ; sees providence in conservation of a system of ordained causes for the general good, not in their suspension for the benefit of individuals.

Can we rise, as in Paley's illustration of a watch, from the design to a designer ? No. We infer an invisible Intelligence, or, if we like to call it so, a Moral Cause : how it operates and is directed we cannot tell : its attributes and actions, its personality, moral government of mankind, omniscient oversight of individuals, belong to the region of revelation, or of spiritual intuition ; not of Science, not of Natural Theology : yet the Natural Theologian believes that the further Science extends its evidence of such operations, the more nearly it approaches their source.

The confusion between knowledge and conjecture, which vitiates all the speculations noticed hitherto, took shape about the year 1853 in a revival by two men bearing eminent names of a topic often treated in the past. It was asked in a brochure ascribed to Whewell, "Are other worlds besides our own probably the seat of intellectual, moral, spiritual life? Are conceptions which have been hazarded on the subject contradicted or confirmed by recent astronomical discovery?" The anonymous author answers his own question in the negative; sums up against the plurality of worlds. A rejoinder promptly appeared in a pamphlet by Sir David Brewster, entitled "More Worlds than One": and the whole question was examined by Powell, in a style illustrative of the logical exactness with which his mind approached all unproved hypotheses. We know, he says, the physical conditions and cosmical arrangements adapted to animated existence on our own planet. Do these, so far as they are ascertained to exist on stars and planets other than our own, warrant the supposition that they also contain animal life?

1. Are the *nebulæ* inhabitable? Much of what were formerly known as *nebulæ* have been

resolved into fixed stars or—what is all-important to remember—are in a stage of progress towards becoming fixed stars.

2. Are then the *fixed stars* inhabitable? They consist of matter akin to our world, are subject to the laws of gravitation, emit light, are apparently suns.

3. Is *our sun* inhabitable? If the central solid body of the sun is separate from the photosphere, or system of rays surrounding it, it may retain temperature sufficiently moderate to be inhabitable.

4. Is *our moon* inhabitable? It appears to have no water and no atmosphere; yet this is disputed. It is again conjectured that the hemisphere which we never see may be unlike that which we see; giving scope to conditions quite different from those prevalent on the face turned towards ourselves. The suggestion had been raised that its denizens, if at all numerous, must inhabit cities, and that their smoke would be visible to a powerful telescope; but in answer to this it is pointed out that smoke and buildings would at such a distance not reflect enough light to be discernible.

5. Are *our nearer planets* habitable? Mars is known to be circumstanced very similarly to our

earth.¹ The climate of Mercury must be very hot, the temperature of Venus very variable ; but conditions are postulated which may mitigate these peculiarities. The Planetoids, if uninhabitable at present, may be in the course of such combination or condensation as may some day fit them for organic life. The specific gravity of Jupiter and our further neighbours is widely different from our own ; but scientists have opined that there are forms of animal life with which this need not interfere ; nay, that human beings like ourselves might without inconvenience be transferred to the surface of Jupiter.

6. Are *Comets* habitable ? Not perhaps in their present condition : but they, too, may be destined to condense into solid habitable bodies.

Science then declares the worlds, not indeed to be inhabited, but to be habitable ; and that not necessarily at the present moment. During immeasurable ages our own globe was without life : vast intervals again extended between its

¹ One wishes that the Professor could have known the more recent investigations on Mars, discovering apparently clouds above its surface, two moons its satellites, and the supposed Schiaparelli canals ; conjecturally indicating intelligent beings who, in want of water, have constructed vast trenches to convey melting water from the snow-caps at the poles over the arid portions of their globe.

inception and its present development ; its yet future growth with that of its inhabitants is unguessed. So, many of the so-called heavenly bodies may be (1) devoid for the present of inhabitants yet destined to develop them ; or (2) may have inhabitants to-day akin or not akin to us ; or (3) may have reached a higher stage than humanity has hitherto attained. And finally the chief physical argument in favour of presumption that all worlds are inhabited or to be inhabited lies in our conviction of the uniformity pervading Nature both in space and time.

Theological arguments urged against the existence of inhabited worlds other than our own Powell views with the natural displeasure of the scientist, as forcing inductive philosophical probability into conformity with theological prepossessions. He resents them also as being based on an assumption as to the unique importance of Man : they deny the existence of rational beings elsewhere in order to exalt Man's exclusive destiny : the universe is decreed by them to be a waste in order to enhance the dignity of one small race, inhabiting a speck in one of the smaller planets in a subordinate solar system of a subordinate stellar cluster. The idea retrogrades to

mediæval astronomy, by which, in accordance with biblical cosmogony, our earth was the centre of a universe created to minister to its welfare. It lays down that this support of telluric humanity was the sole end and purpose of creation ; contradicting, solely because it does not know them, all other ends and purposes ; ignoring the statement of one amongst the most exalted of Scripture writers, that "for God's pleasure they exist and were created." It asserts a physiological break or gap between man and the rest of the animal creation, a supposition forbidden absolutely by scientific fact. It argues from a supposed First Cause, an idea tenable only by induction from visible causes, not to be made an *ἀρχή* from which these are to be inferred. To such arguments and assumptions Natural Theology is of necessity indifferent. If this be the sole inhabited world, from what we know of it we demonstrate Design ; if habitation be infinitely extended, the demonstration is commensurably exalted : it admits all worlds as harmonising parts in one great world, and infers universality of Life, actual or potential.

Some arguments advanced in the name of Theology the Professor finds it difficult to treat seriously. As, that other worlds may be

required, and must be kept vacant for, human beings after death ; for, as Milton says—

The immortal mind which hath forsook
Her dwelling in this fleshly nook ;

or that man's monopoly in spiritual privileges is hazarded by the presence of innumerable other claimants ; or—most astonishing of all—that the divine supervision demanded by a multiplicity of worlds may involve overlooking in the case of humble individuals ; as Baal when on a journey was unconscious of his votaries at Carmel ; or as Homer's Jupiter, visiting the far-off blameless Ethiopians, was unavailable for his duties in the Trojan struggle. Touching these in turn *sublimi semel flagello*, with a slight flick of his uplifted lash, he points out the wild inconsistency of reasoning at all on subjects beyond the scope of reason ; urging once more that the very idea of a spiritual nature in man, which forms the groundwork of religious *speculation*, differs essentially from his physical system and is outside scientific *reasoning* ; that while natural philosophy may not impossibly contain within itself the germ of spiritual knowledge, the conceptions and the dogmas of Christianity are independent of and cannot be supported by physical theories.

He concludes the volume with an Essay on the "Philosophy of Creation." By "Creation"—an unfortunate term, as seeming to beg a question which Philosophy does not pretend to solve—he understands the origination, first, of the material universe, secondly, of our own globe, including both its physical revolutions and the organic life upon its surface. As to the origin of life upon our globe, Geology tells us nothing: it does indicate, not, at present, without breaks and omissions in the series, an orderly succession of inorganic formations and deposits in the earth's crust, with a regular ascent from the lowest to the highest form of life in its inhabitants. Physiology, by comparison both of adult and of fetal structures, has proved, through Von Bars' splendid discovery, that while all classes of animals from the Radiate to the Vertebrate are specialised after a certain period, yet up to that period they follow a common plan, proving that unity of organisation in all animals which had been previously an undemonstrated hypothesis. Before Powell's death, but some time after his book was written, the whole subject was illuminated, consonantly in every respect with his views and justifying his conjectures, by Darwin's monumental work, cited by the Professor ad-

miringly in the last production of his pen. He here concludes with a summary of the bearing of his own arguments on Theology, Natural Theology, and Revelation; showing that they in no way affect Christianity, assist rather than impede the recognition of a God. "We know not what was the beginning, or will be the end, of created beings. And though the whole of the present, equally with the past, be but changing phases of existence, and the material universe itself be but perishable and transitory, yet Harmony and Symmetry are permanent and eternal, archetypes of the Divine plan, impress of that supreme Reason and Wisdom, the Divine Logos of the Christian genesis, 'who was in the beginning with God and was God; by whom all things were made, and without him was not anything made that was made.'"¹

The object of the treatise which comes next in order, "Christianity without Judaism," was to liberate Christian doctrine from the incumbrances of the Mosaic scheme. Powell composed it at a time when the deliverances of Sinai and

¹ These three Papers are ably discussed in the *National Review* of July 1855, and in the *Edinburgh Review* of October in the same year. I may also draw attention to an able review of "The Order of Nature" in the *Literary Gazette* of July 1859.

the Sermon on the Mount were by the great majority of Protestants treated as having equal authority, the latter being in some instances even interpreted by the former. Theories of verbal inspiration and of Biblical infallibility were universal among the half educated, both laity and clergy. The time had come, he thought, for a simple matter-of-fact inquiry as to the nature and value of the Jewish dispensation announced in the Old Testament.

If in theory the written word of Scripture was from the first accepted as a doctrinal referee, it has in practice been badly treated. Before the Reformation it had become subordinate to a body of traditional teaching upheld dogmatically by the authority of the Church ; while Protestants, avowed bibliolaters, destroyed its value as a rational guide. They viewed every "text"—the word in this sense dates only from the sixteenth century—as in itself an independent message of arbitrary authority, refusing allowance to its contextual object or design, to the time, place, occasion which gave it birth. Hence arose a brood of sects, ranging from Antinomian to Calvinist, at once widely different and mutually destructive, yet all equally unassailable as supported by an invincible array of "texts."

To assign their true meaning, value, authority, to the widely differing books which collectively form "the Bible," it is necessary to examine into the ideas and systems of the generations to whom they were severally addressed, and to take into account their designed adaptation to the special wants, capacities, conditions, circumstances of the parties thus instructed.

He proceeds in his next chapter to draw a line between Law and Gospel, between Judaic and Christian dispensations, quoting the Epistle to the Hebrews in its contrast between the sundry times and divers manners of the past, and the ultimate revelation to *us*. Primæval precepts, as of the Sabbath; patriarchal ideas, as of a covenant or bargain between God and Man, he shows to have been temporary, with no obligation on later times. Then, while the institutions recorded in Genesis were all prefatory to the Law, the Law in all its details had the sole motive of separating Israel from the rest of the world; its precepts being therefore minute and literal, not rising to broad principles of conduct. It was a concession to popular weakness, as in polygamy and divorce; to local customs, as in circumcision; to barbarian instincts, as in the *lex talionis*. Its idea of the Deity was anthropo-

morphic, often the reverse of lofty. Its conception and all its details bore a temporary stamp. Its formalities were in a great measure spiritualised by the Prophets, who abrogated some of its precepts and predicted the supersession of others.

Christ did not repeal these ordinances. He obeyed, upheld, eulogised the Law, yet expanded it, and stamped it with a moral character. He confined His mission to the House of Israel: His teaching was preliminary and preparatory to the establishment of a new dispensation, which He called the "Kingdom of God." In His talk with the woman of Samaria and elsewhere he foretold this as about to come in the form of an independent and universal spiritual religion.

The Apostles were slow to recognise this universality of the mission with which their Master had entrusted them. Their eyes, partially opened by the conversion of Cornelius, came, under the somewhat rough influence of St. Paul, to see its novelty and breadth. Paul laid violent hands on those privileges of superiority and separation with which the Law was inextricably bound up: by a characteristically adroit transmutation of parable he exhibited the proud Jew as the base-born son of Hagar, the despised Gentile as called to Christian emancipation and

inheritance of promise, not through obedience to the Law but through exercise of faith. Old observances cease : the repealed Sabbath is sublimed into an eternal heavenly rest ; circumcision is not literal in the flesh, but figurative in the heart and spirit. Meanwhile Jew and Gentile stood alike condemned ; the Jew through unavoidable breaches of his entangling Law, the Gentile through violation of the behests of conscience ; both were to be accepted and justified on a new and common ground. In the light of this teaching the Law needed not to be formally abrogated ; it died a natural death.

We are led next to discern the views of Law and Gospel held by the Early Church. It was natural that while a majority of the first Christians were Jews, Old Testament Scriptures should be read in the churches and Old Testament obligations respected ; and though to the non-Jewish mind there was never any confusion between the Mosaic and the Christian system, yet certain Christian observances came to bear a stamp of Judaism. Especially was this the case with regard to the Sabbath. By Christians it was never observed ; so early as the first century we find the religious assemblies held not on the seventh but on the first day of the week ; and in all the writings

of the early centuries a broad distinction is drawn between Sabbatism and Christian observance.

This question of the Sabbath pressed heavily on the Professor's mind: it used to be said in Oxford that he had Sabbath on the brain; that if you went to hear him preach, the Sabbath was certain to be introduced. And I well remember listening to a sermon delivered by him at St. Clement's Church in 1845: the text was "Abba Father"; the main topic was the error involved in connecting Sunday with the Fourth Commandment, or importing into it the Jewish strictness of observance. He meant us to understand that *all* days ought to be kept holy, not only one in seven; but this did not remove from the minds of the small tradesmen and College servants who formed his audience, a sensation of dismay at the apparent demolition of their Sunday. The rejoinder too may have occurred to some of them that since the hallowing of every day was difficult or impossible to ordinary men, it was politic to keep and consecrate the one day in seven which custom had rescued from general indifference. No doubt it represented in his mind, as in that of Dr. Arnold, the fatal effect on Christian doctrine of the Judaising spirit prevalent in all ages, and

intensified by the Puritanical element in Protestantism ; this particular manifestation being pressingly brought home to him by the dismal aspect which in religious and semi-religious homes he found everywhere impressed upon the Sundays. He traces with abundant learning the progress of Judaical ideas ; their whole-hearted adoption by the Schoolmen, their repudiation by Luther, Calvin, and the more learned English Reformers. He rules out the appeals to utility and to moral obligation, enlarges on the mischief of a formal adhesion to outward ordinances when substituted for change of heart and life. The Old Testament, he points out, must be read by the light of the New ; and in conclusion glances at a truth which the English public of his day was hardly fitted to receive, and to which Arnold looked as destined to inflict upon existing notions a greater shock than had been received since the proclamation of Papal fallibility, the truth namely that the Bible contains discrepancies, contradictions, and inaccuracies so patent, that it can no longer be looked upon as infallible ; that it must abide the ordeal of what was just beginning to be called the "higher criticism" ; that the views of inspiration must be recast, and based on new beliefs.

“The Order of Nature,” published in 1859, was the latest solid volume produced by Powell. It surveys the progress of Physical Science in the world’s history, with special reference to its bearing on Religious belief, on Theology in general, on Revelation, and on Miracles. Scientific inquiry in its infancy was content with visionary contemplations of Nature, its impressions were made up of mystical combined with religious fancy; nor was any strict line of demarcation drawn between fanciful hypothesis and physical fact. Sound principles, thrown out casually by a Pythagoras or an Anaxagoras, were overpowered and lost under the subtleties of succeeding philosophers; in the study of Nature there was no sequence, no connection, no advance. Thus in the speculations of Anaximenes and Thales; in the prophetic introduction of the word *Kosmos*, Order, to express the visible world; in the Ptolemaic astronomy with its crystalline sphere and *primum mobile*—

They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that first moved;

we see only felicitous theoretical anticipations of truths half conceived. The pre-eminent system of Aristotle, supreme and uncontrolled through-

out the Middle Ages, in the hands of its later champions was made to violate the inductive spirit, and degenerated into a battle of words : the pretensions of Astrology, the ingenious but barren syllogisms of the Schoolmen, adopted by the Church, and enforced by anathema and persecution, arrested all freedom of generalisation, all sound conception of physical analogy.

With Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, modern Science commenced : but their principles, subversive of Aristotelian dogmas and fiercely persecuted by the clergy, were slow in finding acceptance, until the true grounds of physical inquiry were established once for all by the father of inductive philosophy, Francis Bacon. Des Cartes, who followed him, failed as being purely deductive : nor do any other great names occur until we reach the Newtonian epoch. The magnitude of Newton's discoveries and their far-reaching character are dwelt upon with reverent appreciation, brief reference being made to the problems of his personal and intellectual character, which had puzzled all his biographers. The philosophy of Leibnitz is characterised as advancing physical truth, yet unduly subjected to theistic consideration. Then, through Halley, T. Burnett, Woodward, Whiston, and the

Hutchinsonian school, we pass on to Locke. Locke cleared away beneficially the old mystical notions of "innate ideas"; yet still in him, as in S. Clarke, Cudworth, Wollaston, the physical was unduly subordinate to the metaphysical spirit. Against this tendency Bishop Berkeley's powerful writings were a protest; while the seventeenth century Deists, from whom more might have been expected, show lack at once of philosophical and physical speculative clearness. The irresistible advance of thought is shown in the famous Analogy of Bishop Butler, slightly impaired by an untenable distinction between "common" and "extraordinary" natural phenomena. Conyers Middleton limited himself to an attack on Miracles; Hume's argument breaks down in its confusion between physical and moral possibility; between credibilities in cases involving the laws of matter and those dependent on moral volition.

The full demonstration of cosmical order and unity, up to this point not attained, is due to French philosophers; to the completing of Newton's gravitation theory and the proved stability of the planetary system at the hands of Clairault, Laplace, Lagrange. Influenced by them, the several sciences began to emerge from

their confusion. Bradley, in terrestrial physics, proved the orbital motion of the earth ; Priestley discovered oxygen ; Geology dispersed the myths of the Mosaic cosmogony ; Physiology relegated " final causes " to their true position of ulterior results. Davy prepared the way for Faraday ; by their alliance and intercommunication all branches of discovery—a correlation to be firmly established later on by Grove—combined to fix the idea of law, and to discredit the hypothesis of interference ; the discussion giving birth to various schools, of a theological or antitheological complexion, known as Materialist, Rationalist, Positivist, and supported by such names as Paulus, Spinoza, Strauss, Comte. In this connection, however, the Professor carefully vindicates the progress of inductive philosophy from any necessary tendency to irreligion ; that he traces to the influence not of physical but of metaphysical speculation ; and he claims confidently for the leaders of Science of his own time that they had in no single instance avowed or published opinions hostile to the moral and spiritual teaching of the New Testament.

His second Essay treats of the Order of Nature as bearing on men's supposed insight into the nature and attributes of God. Science asserts

the invariable preservation of that order, it contemplates nothing beyond or out of Nature. The so-called supernatural can never be matter of reason, since so soon as it is brought within the domain of reason it ceases to be supernatural. From the study of natural order is implied a governing mind : to the origin of the order thus investigated, to the attributes of the mind evinced by them, it gives no sort of clue. Conceptions of a Personal God, an Omnipotent Creator, a Providential Overseer, a Being holding converse with the spirit of man, must originate from some other source than physical Philosophy. Of creation or of a creator Science yields no evidence ; such ideas can be supported only on the ground of a Revelation as accepted by Faith.

He here pauses to ask if the great law of Order is belied by marvellous events, by what are roughly termed *Miracles*. Disbelief in their occurrence at the present day, is almost universal : from a contemporary so-called miracle the half-educated turn away as from a thing incredible ; the scientific mind examines it, gains a correct appreciation of the phenomena alleged, finds them explicable, or, failing to refer them to any known class of facts, sets them down as apparent anomalies and awaits their solution with

confidence. Present-day miracles, therefore, are likely to receive scant contemporary belief ; but as we go back into history we find increasing readiness to credit them ; and thus a new element is introduced into the discussion, that namely of historical testimony. We have to examine the value of the documentary evidence adduced, and the credulity of the age which accepted it. And since in all ages the grounds of conviction have altered with the state of knowledge, we must inquire whether those who attested the occurrence of any extraordinary fact possessed such knowledge of the Order of Nature as might cause hesitation in ascribing to divine interposition appearances which analogy could interpret as in accordance with physical causation. Holding this clue, our author surveys the attempts made in the past to interpret in accordance with reason the miracles of Scripture. He enumerates (1) the *rationalistic* view ; as that the cities of the plain were destroyed by a natural volcanic eruption, the passage of the Red Sea due to co-operation of wind and tide, pointing out that this leaves many miracles unexplained. (2) The *naturalistic* theory of Paulus, which looked on miracles as real historical events, regarded as supernatural in an ignorant age, explicable by more modern

intelligence : a line of thought employing often resources far fetched, laboured, trivial, yet not to be indiscriminately condemned. (3) The *mythic* theory of Strauss, who, with vast learning and minutest knowledge of the Bible, represented its miraculous records as designedly fictitious, a legendary invention for exalting the Messianic character of Jesus. His catalogue of the contradictions and discrepancies which haunt the narrative is unimpeachable, but he fails to show how tales drawn up designedly as myths should have been mistaken at the time for true histories by *opponents* as well as friends. (4) We pass to the *subjective* theory of Feuerbach, who thought that as the belief in God Himself is a subjective reflection of man's spiritual feelings, so all parts of the Christian scheme, including miracles, are the result of internal impression on an earnest soul, which it believes to be external realities. To the speculations of Ewald the Professor assigns the name of *psychological* : the mystical language in which they are couched gives obscurity to their meaning ; but Ewald seems to think that, mind acting on matter, intense spiritual exaltation on the part of Jesus met by passionate expectation in His followers, produced exaggerated narratives of His works. Neander likewise

removes miracles altogether from the region of historical testimony, sees in their acceptance an activity of faith, not an assent of the understanding. Summing up these attempts Powell concludes that their references to the spirituality of Christian belief, removing miracles from the domain of positive fact, leave unassailed the principle of the immutable uniformity of Nature.

In a fourth Essay he examines the attitude towards miracles of his own contemporary theologians, and notes in some of them, especially of the Tractarian School, a disposition to consider unaccountable events of to-day no less strictly miraculous than those recorded in Scripture. I remember more than fifty years ago taking part in a discussion on this very point. Dr. Pusey, who was present, upheld with animation this view of literal acceptance, citing a case, here recalled, of a young lady who had lain helpless for years through a spinal disorder affecting the hip joint, and who under the influence of her own prayers and those of her spiritual adviser rose suddenly from her couch and walked completely cured. The apparent fact was undisputed, and the case had aroused eager public discussion; one class of theologians claiming it as an undoubted miracle, another refusing

credence, not to the fact, but to its miraculous character. The views of both, coloured by strong theological bias, were scientifically worthless ; and the case itself collapsed under the investigations of Fraser and Brodie, the two first surgeons of the day, who explained it as an instance, not by any means in their experience unique, of hysterical affection simulating organic disease. The hysteria yielded to the excitement of passionate prayer ; and with it departed all symptoms of organic derangement. But the story is used by Powell to illustrate the diversities of attitude towards miracles entertained by the modern religious mind, and it is pointed out that neither belief nor disbelief was here based on argument, but on theological prepossession. So with the Port Royal, the mediæval, the earliest post-apostolic ecclesiastical miracles ; in all cases and at all times the belief in miracles has been matter not of evidence addressed to the mind, but of religious faith impressed upon the spirit. The mere fact was nothing : however well attested, it might be set aside ; however fabulous, it might be accepted ; according to the predisposing religious persuasion of the parties.

In conclusion the Professor affirms that the

proven idea of Kosmos, of universal Order, while excluding all interruptions to such order in the physical world, is consistent with the admission of spiritual mysteries in the world invisible. On physical subjects the sacred writers held the accepted doctrines of their time, and delivered them in the only language which their hearers could understand. Their treatment of these subjects merges miracles in mysteries, removes them from the region of material difficulty to the spiritualised domain of Faith, leaving undisturbed that uniformity of natural order and arrangement which has been the whole contention of this thesis.¹

Baden Powell's views on the entire subject are summarised in the last message proceeding from his pen, a Paper, published in 1860, as one of

¹ See in this connection an able Article, dealing with Newman's "Lectures on University Subjects," in the *Westminster Review* of July 1859. Of the various explanations offered, Feuerbach's is most in accordance with the psychological conclusions of to-day, in interpreting the hallucinations of children, of clairvoyants, of persons slightly deranged. In all these cases the visions are subjectively genuine: the child *sees* lions in a wood or fairies on the green, having not yet attained to the faculty of distinguishing between the imagined and the objectively real. In some cases the mind never attains to this faculty; and so the clairvoyant *subjectively* sees spirits in a room, as the lunatic sees more devils than vast hell can hold.

the then famous now forgotten "Essays and Reviews." They rose into extravagant repute and passed through many editions, from no surprising force or eloquence in the Articles the book contained, but first, from a readiness in the public mind to welcome free handling of religious and biblical topics, in language not conventional and in a spirit not traditional, at the hands of eminent divines; and secondly from the bitterness with which the volume was received by the great majority of the clergy, from its censure in Convocation, and from the punitive measures attempted in the courts of law against some of its authors.

The Article was entitled "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity." It dealt with those who have in the present day upheld the truth of Scripture miracles as suspensions or violations of the law of Nature; and who, conscious of the paradox they were proclaiming, argued that Divine Omnipotence is supreme, that such suspensions were necessary to the ends of the dispensations which they accompanied, that in matters religious the credibility of external facts must be referred to a submissive spirit of faith. It is answered that Divine Omnipotence can only be deduced from the pages of the Bible, and

cannot be brought to prove the truth of statements in the book on which this presumption is founded: that the allegation of "necessity" could only be applied to miracles proved on independent grounds: that matters of admitted external and historical fact must appear at the bar of reason and be judged by historical criticism: that the basis of belief cannot be shifted from evidence of fact to influence of internal persuasion: and that, even admitting honesty in the reporters of supernatural appearances, the probability of mistake or deception on their part is greater than the probability of the event having really taken place in the way and from the causes assigned. Reason, he added finally, is not to be confused with feeling, external phenomena with emotional receptiveness. Miracles are, or are not, brought forward as historical facts: if not historical, they become fables; if historical, they must be criticised historically. Those who champion the supernatural view of miracles are in conflict with the whole current of accepted thought and knowledge around them. Their appeal to testimony refuses to modify mere attesting statement by reasoning, by analogy, or by antecedent credibility. The essential question of miracles stands apart from testimony:

not the mere fact, but the cause and explanation of it, is the point at issue. The Gospel miracles are objects, not evidences, of faith, nor is Christian hope restricted to external signs.

The volumes which I have endeavoured to analyse are the most characteristic, as they are the most mature, of the Professor's works. They attained a wide circulation; and their influence, among younger students more especially, was very great. A noted Liverpool clergyman and preacher, much distressed by doubts as to whether his enlarged views on the authenticity and inspiration of the Old Testament historical books were inconsistent with his clerical and ministerial position, found his difficulties removed by a study of "Christianity without Judaism." The same work was reprinted in 1866 by a Mr. Robertson of Edinburgh at his own expense, and scattered broadcast through Scotland. At the author's death letters from eminent men poured in upon his widow, bearing testimony to the debt of gratitude which the writers owed to their lost and venerated instructor. Sir William Grove tells her how he had read the "Unity of Worlds" nine times through, preserving his early copy thickly scored with admiring pencil marks.

Robert Stephenson spoke of the same book as his "second Bible," declaring that he owed to it the mental happiness of his life. Charles Darwin, whose "Origin of Species" appeared shortly before the Professor's death, declared that he had gathered out of Powell's teaching the logical weapons by which he reasoned on his collected facts. "His books," wrote an eloquent critic in the *Westminster Review*, "will bear comparison with Locke and Bacon in profundity and precision, with George Combe in fertility of illustration, with Brewster or the author of the 'Vestiges' in beauty of style and polished elegance of language." Their conclusions, accepted almost universally to-day, at the time of publication excited in many minds alarm and anger; nor did their author escape the obloquy which assails all protagonists in the cause of truth. "Oh! how I sigh after Truth," said Montalembert to Rosmini. "Young man, you can never attain truth without martyrdom," was the older philosopher's answer. Powell bore his share of it without shrinking: but, himself respecting always the feelings of others, and speaking unkindly of no one, he suffered keenly from the malignant hostility and the breaches of friendship in which his outspoken avowals in-

volved him. That his life should never have been written is a loss to his own time and to ours. The duty of finding a biographer was accepted by Dean Stanley, who, after rejecting several aspirants, as unequal to the task of appraising at once the scientific and the theological aspects of his mind, undertook with the assistance of Mrs. Baden-Powell to write it himself, but was prevented by death. A vast quantity of materials for such a work, untouched since they were collected at his death, remain in the custody of his widow. It is to be hoped that they may yet find an adequate biographer, able to appreciate and portray all sides of his many-coloured life.

In all the fierce controversies of that excited time he had taken an inoffensive but an active part. Of the "Hampden rows," as they were called, he possessed all the pamphlets, papers, letters issued, with much special and unpublished matter besides : he believed the collection to be unique. So also he had amassed, what is still extant among his Papers, a complete history of the 1830 Examination Statute. He was a member of the first "Royal Commission on University Education," appointed in 1850. Alone amongst the Commissioners, he urged the in-

clusion of organised Science Teaching in any reformed curriculum. The contention on the subject was prolonged and hot, and Powell threatened to resign unless he could have his way. Then Jeune stepped forward on Powell's side, announcing that a perusal in early life of Mrs. Marcet's "Conversations" had inspired him with a high admiration for Physical Science; and the dissentients gave in. I well remember the black looks which were lavished on these two, as on Goldwin Smith and Stanley, the Secretaries, whenever they appeared in Oxford. Jeune told Mrs. Baden-Powell, that though living in the charmed circle of Heads, who exchanged hospitality by rule, his invitations to dinner sensibly fell off. Jeune cared no more than his nickname-sake Mephistopheles would have done, and Stanley was amused always by manifestations of hostility: but Powell, who dearly loved his friends, and had kept himself calm through all the frays of that agitated decade, was deeply wounded. His own gentleness towards opponents was never impaired by irritation; after his death Manning asked to be introduced to his widow, wishing to tell her that he and his associates respected Baden Powell above all the Protestant world: "He was the only one of our

opponents who always spoke the truth about us : strongly opposed to our avowed beliefs, he yet never accused us of what we did not profess." He was himself habitually hospitable : it was a joke in the family that the mention of any acquaintance would rouse him to say—"Do ask him to dinner ; it is a long time since he dined with us." All eminent visitors to Oxford assembled at his table : Struve from St. Petersburg, Le Verrier, Lord Northampton, Sir John Lubbock (the elder), Airy, De Morgan, Edward Forbes, "Bob" Lowe, Darwin, Buckle, were made welcome in New College Lane. At the meeting of the British Association in 1847, he being President of the Mathematical Section, Le Verrier and Adams met for the first time at his house. The Paris savant had come to announce his interesting discovery that the comet whose sudden apparent return had bewildered astronomers three years before, was only one of three distinct comets observed in 1770, 1843, 1844. After briefly demonstrating his discovery to the assembled guests, he inscribed in Mrs. Baden-Powell's album a rough diagram of the three eccentric orbits, writing under it the words, "*Ces trois comètes sont différentes l'une de l'autre.* Ce 28 Juin 1847 Oxford, N. G. Le

Verrier.” And that the discussion as to priority of discovery between himself and Adams in another famous case might not be renewed in this, he pressed Adams also to sign the Paper, which his confrère did in these words—“*Certifié conforme à la séance d’aujourd’hui 28 Juin 1847. J. C. Adams.*” On a later occasion, when Whately, Whewell, and others were dining, Mrs. Powell had provided a dish of eighteen plovers’ eggs to match the number of her guests. It stood in front of Whately, who amid the vehemence of his talk helped himself to and devoured sixteen of the eggs successively. Mrs. Whately used to cap the story by relating ruefully how at a large ceremonial dinner in Dublin she had ordered a dish of Ruffs and Reeves, an unusual and very costly dainty. At that time guests saw their dinner in the flesh, not, as now, through the medium of a menu. The Ruffs and Reeves, in a side-dish, were opposite and close to an Irish clergyman, who, liking their looks, stuck his fork into one after another. The hostess, not willing that her specialties should take wing into a single maw instead of being widely admired and partaken, tried to tempt the esurient gentleman with other delicacies—“May I help you to this, Mr. —, or will you not take

some of that?"—to be met with the placid answer, "No thank you, Ma'am, these little birrds will do well enough for me."

Powell possessed great taste in Art, owning and appreciating a considerable collection of paintings by English and Foreign Artists. Many drawings from his own brush or pen in water-colour or black and white remain to attest his skill. The gift was inherited by his son Frank, whose "Wooden Walls of England" hangs in the public gallery at Salford. The father was an admirable caricaturist, an accomplishment which he shared with his friend Warden Shuttleworth; Whately used to say that Powell's fine sense of humour came out in his drawings more than in his words. As he told a College story, or described an incident in everyday life, his dexterous fingers would with a few strokes of the pen illustrate his narrative. I have seen many of his sketches, scratched and thrown aside, preserved afterwards by his wife. Facial expression, sit of dress, significance of posture, are delineated by minute touches with almost the fidelity of a Cruikshank. The costumes of his time: short feminine dresses and sandal shoes, enormous bonnets, capacious muffs: the male choking neckcloths, polished Hessians, dandy eyeglass,

hirsute ornaments of the cheek, ranging from slight educated whisker to truculent Newgate fringe; Dons with bewigged head, policemen with shiny hat-tops, dustmen with sou'wester and bell, congregations with grotesque clerk and pretty female singers, form a gallery of pre-Victorian and early Victorian dress, each being set off by some happy Horatian or Virgilian pun. A bone stolen from a dainty poodle by a savage unkempt mongrel is labelled—" *Cur non, Mopse, boni?* " Above two jovial symposiasts sitting with claret jug between them in the beatific stage of intoxication is inscribed—" *Magisque viri nunc gloria claret.* " An undergraduate baffled in Collections by the Asses' Bridge is consoled by " *Audet et ignoto sese committere ponti.* " A covetous parson for his tithes distraining, who, regardless of the farmer's protests, selects the fattest pigling from a curly-tailed litter, is marked " *Suum cuique.* " Buckland lectures in the Ashmolean; one hand pointing to an ichthyosaurus on the wall, the other manipulating two of the monster's paddle-bones on the table: the motto, in happy double meaning, is " *Pignusque direptum lacertis.* " The "Age" coach, with heaped luggage, cloaked passengers, Weller-costumed Jehu, is driving off to the dismay of

intending passengers who have arrived too late, and for whom a moral is pointed by the line—"Utendum est *Ætate*, cito pede præterit *Ætas*." A horrible old chiffonier is picking foul fragments from a refuse-heap, while a nightman's cart moves off: the legend is "Suave est ex magno tollere acervo." "Uno avulso non deficit alter," hails the departure from the Schools of a plucked undergraduate, making way for a brother in calamity. A sweep with soot-bag and shovel, marching careless down the street, leaves tokens on the finery of a sprucely dressed lady and gentleman: the motto, misquoted here as almost universally, is, "Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit." Two maids are toiling with stay-laces to attenuate yet further the waist of an already too slender beauty: "In *tenui* labor" advertises the struggle. A bearded Turk is eating dinner with his fingers; his English convive hands him a fork with the words, "*Naturam expellas furca*." A Cambridge freshman, sauntering with stony expressionless face along King's Parade, is labelled "*Cantab-it vacuus*." A larger comic cartoon of the Hampden controversy was lithographed by subscription, and is still to be met with. His most elaborate work in this kind was "Whately's Logic Illustrated," which he pre-

sented to the Archbishop. The chapter on "Abstraction of Property" is enforced by a gipsy stealing linen while the laundry-maid's fortune is being told by the thief's mother. The ensuing chapter on "Simple Apprehension" shows the capture of the culprit by a constable; while those which follow on "Judgment" and "Discourse" exhibit the sequel in the criminal court. "The Illicit Process of the Major" shows an officer eloping with a lady; the curt refusal of a less fortunate suitor exemplifies the "Particular Negative." Each chapter in turn is whimsically comedised: the *jeu d'esprit* is, I believe, preserved in the Whately family.

Baden Powell, writes his wife to me amongst other interesting reminiscences, was by nature singularly modest; appearing always unaware of his own great powers and extraordinary attainments in Art, Literature, Science. His fund of ready wit, she goes on to say, his refined tastes and habits, his ready sympathy, the simple nobility of his nature, endeared him to a devoted band of friends. He was a great lover of children: as a young father he was the only member of the family who could at once soothe a fractious infant, and to the last when compelled to be away from home he would always

if possible have his wife and children with him. His little ones came to him every day for explanatory lessons in the New Testament, and he was often to be seen with the older amongst them, on week-days as on Sundays, at the Services in St. Andrew's, Wells Street. It was his own unfailing custom to read a chapter from the Greek Testament immediately after breakfast. His last marker was in Philippians iii., the verses 8-16 were pencil scored, a double mark against verse 8.

The fidelity of the portrait accompanying this chapter is acknowledged by all who knew him ; his countenance, animated and intellectual, placid, kindly, humorous, reflected the character within : " A man's wisdom," says the Hebrew Preacher, " maketh his face *to shine* ; " by the author of the " British Association at Oxford " it is thus described : " Mr. Baden Powell, President of the Mathematical Section, is pale to whiteness, but beaming with what resembles the pleasure of a happy child." He had been three times married : in 1821 to Eliza Rivaz, who died childless in 1836. A year later, as we have already seen, he married Charlotte Pope, who died in 1841. His third wife, wedded to him in 1846, was Henrietta Grace, daughter of Admiral

Smyth, F.R.S., D.C.L., &c. By her he had ten children ; the eldest not fourteen, the youngest three weeks old, at his death. Their mother, who still lives, an accomplished artist, musician, mathematician, naturalist, after losing her husband devoted herself to her children's education : all rose to eminence in one or another capacity, the defender of Mafeking being only one among several distinguished brothers.

Active almost to the last, his death came as a surprise to all except his nearest relatives, who had watched his failing health in the preceding winter. In June 1860 he died in the presence of his wife and children, his spirit until the last bright as it had ever been ; passing away from a world which he had striven uniformly to enlighten, and to leave better and wiser than he found it. Not always, not often, in his own time, does the prophet-pioneer receive his meed of recognition and of praise. He passes, but his work remains ; to germinate, grow, yield fruition to a posterity which has lost or scantily holds the memory of its benefactor. Nor would he have it otherwise. He laboured, not for himself but for mankind ; not that his own name might live, but that his toil of thought and utterance might strengthen others' souls, disseminate Truth,

advance the progress of humanity, lead up the golden year.

Others, I doubt not, if not we,
The issue of our toils shall see ;
And, (we forgotten and unknown,)
Young children gather as their own
The harvest that the dead had sown.

CHAPTER VIII

BLANCO WHITE

Truly, thou knowest not, and thou needst not know :
Hope only, hope thou, and believe alway.
I also know not, and I need not know ;
Only with questionings pass I to and fro,
Perplexing these that sleep, and in their folly
Imbreeding doubt and sceptic melancholy.

TRUTH, says Milton in one of his inspired rhapsodies ; “ Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on. But when He ascended, and His Apostles after Him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as the story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators how they dealt with the god Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewd her lovely form into a thousand peeces and scatter’d them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that Isis made for the mangl’d body of Osiris, went up and down

gathering up limb by limb still as they might find them. We have not yet found them all, nor ever shall doe till her Master's second coming : He shall bring together every joynt and member, and shall mould them into an immortall feature of loveliness and perfection." I have here to tell of one who spent his life in searching out these mutilated fragments ; failing, like Osiris' wife, to find and reunite them all, yet ending with Milton's confidence, not with Pilate's sneer.

In the year 1826 a Spanish gentleman, formerly a Roman Catholic priest, now in English Orders, came to live in Oxford. He had settled there for a short time some years earlier on the invitation of Warden Shuttleworth ; and a twelve-months' residence had revealed him as a man of very superior attainments, a scholar in several languages, an adept in philosophy and theology, an accomplished scientific musician, and a skilled performer on the violin. So abiding was the impression that he had created and left behind him, that on his return in 1826 he was welcomed by Oriel College as an honorary Fellow, and received from the University the degree of M.A. by diploma, a compliment at that time

rarely paid except to crowned heads or persons of great distinction. Without his name no list of the Noetic brotherhood would be complete, besides that singular yet painful interest attaches to his personal and mental history.

About the middle of the eighteenth century an ancient Roman Catholic Irish family, White by name, fled from the irksomeness of penal laws to establish themselves in Seville as merchants. Here they gained repute and wealth, were ennobled by the King, and married into aristocratic families: here too JOSEPH BLANCO WHITE, grandson to the first settler, was born in 1775. His father was a quiet gentleman of approved business habits, his mother a native lady, proud of her Andalusian blood; both entirely under the control of the priest to whom they had submitted the direction of their lives and consciences. At eight years old the boy was placed in his father's office, where by conversing with the Irish clerks and copying the English correspondence he came to write English fluently and to speak it in Milesian fashion. He also learned to play the violin from one of the managers, who observed his genius for music. But he found mercantile bondage odious; and as his only means of escaping from it he declared

his wish to become a priest. He was sent to a school where he gained some general knowledge, and at fourteen years old was placed in a Dominican College. Here he was instructed in the Church Catechism with theological explanations in the language of scholastic divinity ; was immersed in tedious devotional practices, subjected to frequent confessions, forbidden to walk out alone, interdicted from all books except the approved Lives of Saints. His first glimpse into a world unrestricted by conventual rules was through the pages of Don Quixote, which he obtained by accident and read by stealth : a similar perusal of *Télémaque* in a Spanish translation which he found in his father's bookcase sowed in him the seeds of a transient revolt against Christianity. If heathens, he argued, were so wise, brave, sincere, so devout in sacrificial homage to their gods, as in the case of Telemachus and Mentor, how could it be asserted that their religion and their worship were wrong ? Clearly through some ancestral White the boy must have inherited a strain of inborn scepticism. These questionings were further nourished by the works of *Feyjoo*, a learned Benedictine friar, which taught him to appreciate the principles of the Baconian philosophy, and

to cast ridicule on the learned absurdities of the Schoolmen. Reprimanded one day for inattention by the Dominican teacher, he rose in his place and denounced the Aristotelian philosophy, with a fluent use of Feyjoo's arguments. Great commotion ensued, the students not less horrified than the professor: Blanco was removed from the College and sent to the University. Here he made rapid progress; improving his slight knowledge of Latin, mastering French and Italian, devouring all books in those languages which he could obtain; entering finally with great energy on the study of divinity, and joining a Society formed amongst the Students for reading and discussion of History and Belles Lettres. Meanwhile, as became the scion of a pious house, he had chosen a confessor from amongst the Fathers of St. Philip Neri, attracted by the exquisite music for which their Oratory was already famous, and which has bequeathed the name *Oratorio* to the highest class of sacred dramatic composition. Permission to take part in the performances of their orchestra relieved in some degree the tedium of the Sunday observances.

From the age of fourteen he was subjected to the devotional practices incumbent on candi-

dates for the Tonsure. He recalled these long afterwards with strong repugnance : the early confessions and communions ; the prolonged kneeling on the cold stones for meditation on some text of Scripture ; the sermon an hour and a half in length ; the wearisome daily reading aloud in private of the Breviary ; worst of all, the "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius," in which for ten successive days, intensified by fasting and seclusion, the passionate fulminations of a practised preacher excited a crowd of penitents into shrieking convulsions by a minute description of impending hell. The continuance of these practices, while kindling emotional sensitiveness, had the effect in most cases of blunting moral responsibility : that in his case it was not so was shown by an incident which he records. He had read the works of *Muratori*, who, orthodox on other points, denied the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine which though not at that time formally announced by Rome, was insisted on by the Spanish bishops. In confession White acknowledged that he had read the book. His confessor refused absolution unless he would there and then disclose, or pledge himself to accuse to the Inquisition, the friend from whom he had received the book. "I told him that I

would rather go to hell than betray my friend," and the director contented himself with advising his penitent to caution the unknown against the sin of owning a book which the Inquisition had banned. More than once as the time drew near he shrank from the irrevocable step of ordination, but, yielding to his mother's tears and prayers, conquered his reluctance, and at the age of twenty-one received Sub-deacon's Orders. His weeping mother could now dry her eyes: marriage of a person in Sub-deacon's Orders was by Spanish law null and void: her terror of his marrying, which seems to have influenced her quite as much as desire for the salvation of his soul, was once for all removed. In the notes of his Journal he partially lifts the veil to show how nugatory, and at the same time how ruinous to morality, were the celibate laws; how the incontinence of the clergy was in his time matter of notoriety, nay of jest; and he quotes as well known the saying of a certain bishop. Those whom the prelate had admitted to Minor Orders, which stigmatise marriage as unseemly, yet do not prohibit it, he was wont to dismiss with the injunction "*Beware of them,*" the Spanish pronoun admitting of a feminine inflection: when he had ordained his neophytes

later as sub-deacons, he would alter his advice into "Let *them* beware of you." In his own case, to some extent at least, slighted Nature avenged herself: for we hear of a son, Ferdinand, whom he dearly loved: "I felt as if my heart was breaking," he notes in his Journal, when, as a lieutenant in the 40th Regiment, the young man left him for Bombay shortly before his own death. But he declares himself to have been rigidly faithful to the unlegalised connection which he had formed, and free from the vagrant amours which characterised many amongst his brethren.

The Rubicon once passed, he set himself to make the best of his new life. He became a Fellow of the Seville College, proceeded to Deacon's and Priest's Orders, was elected to a Canonry in the Cathedral of Cadiz, and received a licence to hear confessions; his experience in this last capacity containing painful revelations as to the effect on priests and people of habitual compulsory confession. He was now, at the age of twenty-seven, in a position from which highest ecclesiastical promotion was within his reach. But this was not to be: the moral disapprobation caused by his interior view of the Church system revived and strengthened the intellectual

doubts which he had formerly entertained, but had suppressed out of filial tenderness. It became clear to him that the Church had erred : it could no longer claim his implicit allegiance ; and since his whole life's teaching had impressed upon him the belief that the Church and Christianity were identical, revolt against the Church involved the rejection of Christianity. What was he to do ? he could not relinquish his profession and remain in Spain ; such an act would have been at that time punished with death : he must either quit the country, causing thereby acute misery to his friends, or continue to bow himself in the house of Rimmon, exhibiting outward conformity and discharging priestly functions with internal disbelief in their force and in the religious dogmas which they support. From this last deceptive course he was saved by the moral rectitude which his sacerdotal training had not been able to suppress : flight from Spain, however painful to him, was the less of the two evils : not without difficulty he embarked on an English ship, and landed at Falmouth in March 1810, being then thirty-five years old.

Friends soon arose to help the solitary exile ; gentlemen to whom he had shown attention while they were travelling in Spain repaid his

civilities with interest ; he was received cordially by Sir Humphry Davy, then in the springtide of his great repute ; by Lord and Lady Holland, by young Lord John Russell. His position in English society was for a time embarrassing : speaking with an accent at once Spanish and Irish, he was in conversation imperfectly intelligible ; in the society of cultivated men and women he found his vocabulary inadequate to the expression of his ideas on any but the most ordinary subjects ; and his morbid sensitiveness made him often silent through fear of exciting ridicule. That he should from the first have made and kept warm friends among high-bred and fastidious persons shows that in spite of these drawbacks his address must have been singularly pleasing ; the few men and women who still remember him recall him as a pleasant lively talker, but requiring to be drawn out. His musical talent also told highly in his favour ; an exquisite performer on the violin, it is said that he was fastidious in his tastes, adoring Beethoven, unable to endure Handel. He became Editor of the *Español*, a political and literary journal written in Spanish and newly published in London ; and while the views he there expressed excited animosity and alarm amongst the domi-

nant party in Spain, and for a time even exposed him to danger of assassination, the power and knowledge which his Articles displayed raised his repute both in Spain and England. The Editorship, though laborious, left him leisure for other work. Reading in the "Spectator" a remark by Addison that half-an-hour in every day spent uninterruptedly on any subject must in no long time issue in its mastery, he set himself under these limitations to the study of Greek, aided only by two grammars and a *Clavis Homerica*, until at the end of four years he had taught himself to read with ease Homer, Herodotus, Plutarch, and a copious volume of "Extracts." With the expulsion of the French from Spain the *Español* was discontinued; the services which it had rendered to English interests in the Peninsula were rewarded by a Government pension of £250; and great part of the leisure thus gained he spent on a renewed study of Divinity. His Spanish experience had led him, as we saw, to confound Christianity with Romanism, and so to abandon both; but the English Church, presenting itself to him as anti-papal, yet emphatically Christian, caused him to reconsider his revolt. Christianity, under this new aspect, became reconcilable with his

religious and his moral scruples ; he examined Anglican formularies, attended Anglican worship, after long reading and consideration became an Anglican clergyman by signing the Thirty-nine Articles ; and in 1814 removed to Oxford for the purpose of studying in its libraries the great Protestant divines. Here he spent a year only, being recalled to London to undertake the education of Lord Holland's eldest son, and to reside in Holland House. Ill health made him an irritable teacher to a perhaps unpliant pupil, and he soon resigned his post. Invited by the poet Campbell to write for the *New Monthly Magazine*, he produced, and collected later into a book, the series of Articles known as *Letters of Leucadio Doblado*.

Published in 1822, this work contains a history of Spanish life and customs, professing to be written by a Spaniard, who, having lived some time in England, is able to estimate native conditions by comparison with those of other lands. It narrates the suppression of the Jesuits by Charles III., describes with the graphic touches of an eye-witness Court life during the reign of Charles IV. and his worthless wife ; paints the rise to supremacy of the notorious Godoy, together with the French invasion under Murat,

and the dethronement of the reigning family by Napoleon. But the chief interest of these pages lies in their portrayal of the Church in Spain. It was said by Renan that the history of a Religion could be written only by one who had belonged to it and had forsaken it ; and here was an emancipated priest depicting the institution in which he had borne office. He examined the tendency of Catholicism as existing in Spain ; the consequences of Confession, of clerical celibacy, of monastic vows for men and women, of education as administered by the clergy, of the pernicious yet crushing influence exercised by the all-powerful Inquisition over the intellect and morals of a nation. Written with laborious fairness, with lively incident and anecdote, with a command of English surprising in a foreigner, the book at once commanded an extensive reading public ; and, meeting with no denial or rejoinder on the part of those whom it impugned, was accepted as genuine history. It suggested to Mrs. Hemans her poem, the "Forest Sanctuary." A young Miss Senior, who had been won to his own Church by Dr. Wiseman during her residence in Rome, took it up in a house where White was staying, and asked indignantly, "Who has written this book

filled with lies?" "I did," said Blanco. She persuaded him to talk it over with her; his arguments convinced her, and Wiseman lost his proselyte.

Three years of controversial writing followed: he published "Evidence against Catholicism," in answer to Butler's "Lives of the Saints," and one of the most popular of his works, "The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery." In 1826 he returned to Oxford: as M.A. and Fellow of Oriel was welcomed by his old friends there, and entered on what was perhaps the happiest episode in his storm-tossed life. He preached at St. Mary's, delivered before the Ashmolean Society a highly appreciated Lecture on "The Theory of Musical Sounds," took his part in the vigorous dialectics of the Common Room. He walks with Whately and with Hawkins, enlightens Hampden on the Scholastic Philosophy, is consulted by Pusey, H. Wilberforce, and Froude, on the Order of the Roman Catholic Service in the Breviary. H. J. Rose tried to engage him with Newman in a Theological Library which Rivington was bringing out. Newman was to write a history of the principal Councils, Blanco a history of the Inquisition. Newman's attempt took form in his "History of

the Arians": White, I think, completed nothing. He had no lack of out-College friends; the Duncans, Shuttleworth, Baden Powell, Ogilvie, Cotton, afterwards Provost of Worcester; he was on affectionate terms with William Bishop, Vicar of St. Mary's, and his highly-gifted brother Dr. Charles Bishop of Holywell; was welcomed as a guest by Dr. Nicol, Hebrew Professor, and by the accomplished musical daughter of Parsons, Editor of the Septuagint. He revelled habitually in the music of New College Chapel, conducted by a brilliant but short-lived organist, Alfred Bennett. He himself performed admirably on the viola, playing trios with Newman and Reinagle. Listeners noted the contrast between his excited bowing and Newman's sphinx-like immobility. In his lodging opposite Merton he received a few pupils. One of these, Hinds Howell, half brother to Whately's great friend Bishop Hinds of Norwich, once described to me how Whately "collared him" one day in Magpie Lane, marched him to Blanco's lodgings, and there deposited him with the shout—"I've brought you a pupil, Blanco." He corresponded at this time with Coleridge, Southey, Mrs. Hemans; tried without success to enjoy Wordsworth's poetry, a feat which perhaps no foreigner ever

achieved. He was deterred, he tells us, by the large amount of fatiguing and second-rate matter which obscured the supreme excellence of Wordsworth's best work, and by the pessimistic tone, the "mental drone-pipe," disfiguring the poet's vision of Society. I wish that more of his happy Oxford life had been preserved: but his Memoirs are silent, and Whately forbade the publication of his own letters written to White in the vacations. I have heard him described by those who knew him as of winning manners and a fluent talker, full of interest in great subjects, disdaining trivial topics. Tom Mozley questioned him once about the smaller religious houses in Spain. He answered that in Spain you knew that there were friars in a town, and you knew that there were pigs, and that was all you cared to know about either. He produced at this time the superb Sonnet, which Coleridge pronounced, in a somewhat inflated eulogy, to be the finest and most grandly conceived in our language, and of which Leigh Hunt, more ecstatic still, declared that "it stands supreme perhaps above all in any language, nor can we ponder it too deeply or with too hopeful a reverence." As I have found that the Sonnet is now not universally

known, I transcribe it according to White's last corrections :—

ON NIGHT AND DEATH

Mysterious Night ! when our first Parent knew
 Thee from report divine, and heard thy name,
 Did he not tremble for this lovely frame,
 This glorious canopy of Light and Blue ?
 Yet, 'neath a current of translucent dew,
 Bathed in the rays of the great setting Flame,
 Hesperus with the host of Heaven came,
 And all Creation widened in Man's view.
 Who could have thought such darkness lay concealed
 Within thy beams, O Sun ? or who could find,
 While fly, and leaf, and insect stood revealed,
 That to such countless Orbs thou mad'st us
 blind ?
 Why do we then shun Death with anxious strife ?
 If Light can thus deceive, wherefore not Life ?

One more sonnet from his pen, though not quite equal to this, seems worth preserving. It was given to me by Mrs. W. Arnold, a granddaughter of Archbishop Whately on one side, of Dr. Arnold on another, taken, as I understood, from a copy in Blanco White's own handwriting, and endorsed *Redesdale* 1833.

ON HEARING MYSELF FOR THE FIRST TIME
CALLED AN OLD MAN

Ages had rolled within my breast, though yet
Not nigh the bourn to fleeting man assigned :
Yes : old—alas ! how spent the struggling mind
Which at the noon of life is fain to set !
My dawn and evening have so closely met,
That men the shades of night begin to find
Darkening my brow ; and, heedless, not unkind,
Let the sad warning drop, without regret.
Gone Youth ! had *I* thus missed thee, nor a hope
Were left of thy return beyond the tomb,
I could curse life :—But glorious is the scope
Of an immortal soul.—Oh Death, thy gloom,
Short, and already tinged with coming light,
Is to the Christian but a summer's night.

His position in Oxford and in Oriel seemed to be ideal, but drawbacks soon showed themselves. The adjustment of easy mutual relations in a masculine society whose members are compelled to close and continual contact, requires some previous training. The newly-elected Junior Fellow of a College, prepared by public school and undergraduate experience, passes easily through a term of quietude and deference to conscious sociable equality ; an outsider suddenly imported needs peculiar tact and adaptability to take his place naturally in the new surroundings.

Officers promoted from the ranks are said to be often for a time uneasy in the mess-room : the distinguished professors elected recently from without by the Oxford Colleges in obedience to parliamentary legislation fell slowly into the habits of Hall and Common Room : and Blanco White, of a temperament acutely sensitive, ignorant too of what Emerson calls "the happiest way of doing things," was just the man to imagine slights and lay them seriously to heart. Two or three of the Heads seemed to frown upon him : that was possibly the case ; no doubt some of those fossilised old gentlemen, like a historic Rector of Lincoln, looked on all foreigners as "Jarmans," and wished them in the "Jarman ocean." A coarse rebuff at the Magdalen high table from an uncouth Senior Fellow sank deeply into his mind. Dining at Merton one day he praised the bread. Mo. Griffith, who overheard him, ordered the College baker to send a loaf to Mr. White's lodgings every morning. The kindly intended benefaction made him miserable, but he knew not how to refuse it dexterously, or to accept it good-humouredly, and lived in terror of its daily advent. He fancied rudeness in the College servants, was mortified by the discovery that his honorary rank placed him



BLANCO WHITE

(From the Oriel portrait by F. C. Lewis)

in strict precedence below each freshly elected Fellow ; reflected that a time would come when in the rapid course of Collegiate change his present valued friends would have departed, and he be left alone amongst a generation which knew not Joseph. Soon too it became clear to him that for more public reasons Oxford could not remain his permanent home. While, intellectually, the Noetics reigned there supreme, the party numerically dominant in religion and politics was evangelical. Whately, to be sure, had stamped their system scornfully as the "self-sufficient Stoicism of the Roman Poet," yet Pusey had been strongly drawn to it, Newman was brought up in it ; it had been ably engineered in Oxford by Daniel Wilson ; and on first coming to England Blanco had been drawn to it by the spectacle of its fairest aspect in the pious family of his friends the Christies. But its Calvinism, its blatant platform demonstrations, its creed based on a forfeited Eden, a yawning hell, a vicarious reconciliation, inspired in him a repugnance not less insuperable than that which he had felt for Rome : and in Oxford, shrinking from their society, unversed in their shibboleths, he was stamped as a "malignant" by Low Church leaders, who were strong enough on the

governing body to prevent his being employed in editing for the Clarendon Press. This distrust soon assumed a form more noxious. In 1829 the Roman Catholic Relief Bill excited bitter animosity amongst Protestants, as elsewhere, so especially in Oxford : and when Sir Robert Peel, having passed the enfranchising measure, resigned his seat for the University in order to test the approbation of his constituents, his re-election was vigorously opposed. Blanco was in London, and did not intend to vote ; but was called up by Pusey, at that time one of the most liberal amongst the residents, and recorded his vote for Peel. Newman, who had joined the No-popery party, was offended with him : others, who had hailed his anti-papal testimonies, and could not see that abhorrence of religious intolerance and theological error might coexist with zeal for political justice, proclaimed him a venal sycophant and apostate. He encountered everywhere hard unkindness' altered eye : and when in 1831 Whately, appointed to the Archbishopric of Dublin, proposed that Blanco should go with him as tutor to his sons, he left Oxford finally without regret.

For some time he lived with the Archbishop, an inmate beloved by all except his pupils. He

was an impatient teacher, unable to enter into a beginner's difficulties, which were not and probably never had been difficulties to him. Yet of children he was passionately fond, and they of him. "I can see him now," says Mrs. Simpson, Nassau Senior's daughter, "running to meet me with outstretched arms after a short illness." Miss Powell tells me that in her Oxford childhood she looked upon him as a kind of Uncle : a little toy canary organ which he gave her, and which would play six tunes, was a joy to successive generations of little Powells and Whatelys. And the nurse in Hampden's family where he frequently visited, encountering him on the stairs with an infant in her arms, told her mistress that the strange gentleman had bent over the child, and blessed it with words so beautiful that they could not fail to do it good. In the leisure and seclusion of Redesdale, Whately's country home near Dublin, his restless mind and pen began again to work upon Theology. The poet Moore had lately put forth a book called "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion." He wrote in the character of a Roman Catholic Trinity College graduate, who having on political not on theological grounds clung to his Church while persecuted, is by the

passing of the Emancipation Act set free on the point of honour. His College surroundings have given him an admiration for Protestantism, which he resolves to embrace, but deems it necessary to select from among the numerous Protestant sects that one which, being in closest harmony with the primitive Church, must be supposed to hold Christian doctrine in its purest and least adulterated form. He sets out, therefore, with a study of the Apostolical Fathers, but is bewildered to find the Roman doctrines of appeal to Tradition, of reverence for relics, of a corporal presence in the Eucharist, all proclaimed by these venerable pillars of the earliest Christian age. Coming on a little farther, he finds the duty of fasting prescribed by Hermas, the sacrifice of the Mass sanctioned by Irenæus, Prayers for the dead by Tertullian, invocation of Saints and of the Virgin by a Catena of writers from Origen to Basil. So he proceeds through the centuries, discovering among the great doctors of the Church Protestantism nowhere, Roman doctrine everywhere. From these he turns his attention to those whom the orthodox stigmatised as Heretics : there indeed he finds Protestantism pure and simple : finds it adumbrated by the sceptical Jews of Capernaum, formulated by Docetæ,

Ebionites, Ophites ; sees in Simon Magus the Arch-parent of the Protestant Reformation ; in Marcion, Apelles, Manichæus, the prototypes of Luther, Calvin, Zwingle. Visiting Germany, he studies modern Protestantism at its source, discerning amongst its founders immorality, infidelity, hypocrisy. He crosses to England, traces there the demoralising effects of the Reformation, cites dexterously the adherence to Catholicism of the High Church Elizabethan leaders, sums the results of three Protestant centuries as exhibiting irreligion in the higher classes, gross darkness among the people. He returns to Ireland, his search over, his mind made up : Reason is a blind guide, the Bible an insufficient stay, the way of Life is mapped and guarded by "the one and only true Church." It is the work of a clever advocate, speaking from a well-drawn brief, ignoring all the facts of history which do not support his plea. Its length, its digressions, its sustained banter, its violent invectives, make it occasionally tedious ; but it formed an excellent handbook for those desiring not to discover truth, but to fortify by plausible argument opinions to which the accidents of birth and education had committed them.

In a style of writing equally vivacious, with

greater experience in controversy, and far deeper ecclesiastical knowledge, Blanco White, in his "Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," takes up the pen. Adopting his opponent's plan, he continues the First Gentleman's narrative. The traveller returned to Ireland, as we have seen, a confirmed and submissive Catholic, his *wander-jahre* praised to the skies, himself caressed and petted by the clergy and devout ladies of his reinstated faith. He makes acquaintance with a charming young lady, belonging to the higher class of Irish residents, is cordially received as an acquaintance by her mother, gives lessons in German, falls in love. His aims are thwarted by a priest, spiritual director to the ladies, who has determined that the girl shall enter a convent. He wields all the resources of the Confessional in order to effect his purpose, and by a forged letter drives our Gentleman from the house and neighbourhood. Ruminating on the frightful power over inexperienced ardent souls with which the Confessional endows an adroit unscrupulous priest, and on the cruel breaches in family life and individual happiness caused by perpetuity of monastic vows, he reflects with some self-reproach that in his examination of

Roman claims by the light of primitive antiquity, he had omitted these two essential elements of priestly power. An anonymous manuscript, the authorship of which is later explained, stirs in him still further doubts as to the soundness of his previous security. This paper urges that the essence of Protestantism is not the denial of certain Roman practices and doctrines, many of which are held equally by numerous Protestant bodies, but repudiation of both the scriptural and historic claims of the Roman bishop to rule the beliefs and consciences of other churches. The Apostles knew nothing of one central infallible authority to be set up after their departure: St. Peter, predicting "damnable heresies," fails to recommend any Oracle which shall oppose these heresies after he has gone. The Irish Gentleman, however, had relied not on Scripture, but on the Fathers. Who and what, he now feels impelled to inquire, are the Fathers? A list of names is given, from Clement to Bernard; but who made them "Fathers"? were there no other Christian writers in their times who differed from them and who also deserve a hearing? There were many such we know throughout the earliest centuries; but they were a minority; the majority, represented

by the Church in Rome, called them "Heretics" and destroyed their writings, while it called their opponents "Fathers." A consensus of the Fathers means only a continuous defence and record of that which Rome approved: those upholding contrary views were excommunicated and silenced so long as the Roman Church was unestablished, were persecuted, exiled, slain, when the Emperors allied themselves to the Church, and reinforced priestly anathemas by secular authority. Constantine forbade heretics, on pain of punishment, to assemble for religious purposes; Theodosius established an Inquisition which should search out heresy and destroy tainted books. For denying the obligation of Virginitv and Fasting Jovinian was beaten with leaded thongs by order of Honorius. Acrius and his followers, refusing to believe that prayers could profit the dead, were driven out to die of hunger in the fields. Vigilantius, who condemned perpetual monastic vows, adoration of images, pilgrimages, and the attribution of inherent virtue to celibacy, was dismissed into life-long exile: thus, says triumphantly the pious historian Eusebius, "were hunted out these wild beasts and the leaders of their impiety." Had the Irish Traveller searched deeper and known

more, he would have found from primitive times onwards a noble army of Protestants, denounced in one century, in another martyred, at the hands of the "Orthodox," "Catholic," majority.

How did Rome gain this supremacy among the Churches? What more natural than that when the Western world was deprived of its political centre by the decay of pagan Rome, and a new principle of unity was offered to it in the profession of Christianity, this same Rome, hitherto the metropolis of the world, should become the metropolis not indeed of all Christendom, but of Western Christian Europe? Not of all Christendom then or now; for the Eastern Church has never bowed before and is not even in communion with the See of Rome: but when in Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, the local associations or "Churches" grew into a confederation which assumed the monarchic form, history pointed irresistibly to the Roman bishop as its monarch: Western Europe beheld therein a reflex of the ancient imperial Roman State: its *Pontifices* reappeared as "Cardinals," its *Pontifex Maximus* as Pope. This is the main argument of the book; interwoven with its seriousness is a very readable love-tale: it ends with a formal controversy between an Italian

Abbate and a cultivated English Protestant, in which, both being puppets in the writer's hands, the victory is of necessity on the side which by this time he has espoused.

That side was Protestantism, considered purely as a negation : that it now gave him no positive foothold, that he was quitting the cool sequestered vale of eclectic Anglicanism in which he had walked contentedly with Whately, Hawkins, Hampden, may be read between the lines of his "Travels," is still more evident in his next, and latest, production, a pamphlet called "Heresy and Orthodoxy." The repose which he felt for a time in the Church of England seems to have been attained by feeling more than by argument, supported by admiration for and religious communion with its able representatives at Oriel. But his Irish experience first, and the Hampden persecution later, taught him that a wide gulf lay between these exceptionally large-minded few, and the great mass both of the Irish and English Clergy. He found that amongst these, in spirit, though not in form, Sacerdotalism was as rampant as it had been in Spain ; that his horror of Priesthood had driven him from Popery only to find in these islands a Protestant hierarchy tainted with the same vices. He saw too

with increasing clearness the evils of a State Church, whose endowment of religious tenets and compulsory assent to Articles of Faith seemed to him a bribe, in the interest of established Orthodoxy, and against honest investigation of the Truth. He therefore ceased to officiate in English Orders or to consider himself a member of the English Church. And, as before so now, rejection of ecclesiastical forms brought with it a reconsideration of Christian dogmas: he could no longer hold in any accepted sense the inspiration of the Bible, while the Athanasian definition of the Trinity became to him insupportable. A careless saying of Whately's, intended probably as a joke, to the effect that writings put forth from under an Archbishop's roof "must not be too radical," had some time before alarmed his fastidious sense of independence: if palace walls were to shackle his free thought and utterance, they enclosed no abiding home for him: painful as such a breach would be, better to forfeit a valued friendship than sacrifice to it his assured beliefs and his inward impulse to express them—*Amicus Plato, magis amica Veritas!* After long and painful hesitation he openly declared himself an anti-Trinitarian; and to the great

grief of the whole family left the Archbishop's roof.

He settled himself in Liverpool, attending a Unitarian Chapel at which Martineau was a frequent preacher; exchanging, he declared, acquiescence for conviction, and finding in the worship and the teaching of his new associates peace such as he had never known before. The name "Unitarian" he reprobated as being dogmatic; longed for, but failed to find, some term which might include all unsectarian or anti-sectarian Christians. He was no longer fit to be alone: his bodily sufferings, from an aggravated form of rheumatism, caused him to become increasingly helpless. The ever kind Whatelys provided him with a trustworthy personal attendant; a grant of £300 from the Royal Bounty Fund, obtained through Lord Holland's influence, placed him beyond the reach of pecuniary inconvenience, and a niece, Miss Beck, took up her abode with him permanently. He maintained, while he could use his hands, a correspondence with friends old and new; with J. S. Mill, Channing, William Bishop, the beloved Whatelys; and read books, English and foreign, ever falling back with delight on Shakespeare. Removed to Greenbank, the country house of Mr. Rath-

bone, he there spent the last five months of his life, in acute suffering, and latterly in absolute crippled helplessness. "God to me is Jesus, and Jesus is God—of course not in the sense of divines"—were his last recorded words: his twofold ruling passion, of devotion and of protest, strong in death. A consuming desire to gain religious Truth: an equal sense of sacred obligation to make known the truth which he believed himself to have discovered: a deep consciousness of the Divine Presence: a longing for kindred aspiration among his fellow-men, and for social communion with them in worship:—these characteristics seem to constitute the epitome and the apologia of his long remonstrant struggling life.

POSTSCRIPTUM

It may be well to summarise in conclusion the opinions which, held and published by the Noetics, warrant us in associating them under a common title and crediting them with a common aim. They created no School; for that, method is necessary; and they were essentially unmethodical. They organised no propaganda: each of course desired in his writings to expound and spread his views, but, while linked by virtual uniformity of opinion, they formed no collaborating Society, employed no shibboleths, no dogmas, no missionary machinery.

What then were the conclusions which they held in common?

Politically: while abhorring party spirit, they all denounced as self-destructive and immoral the spirit of resistance to necessary change; were virtually, if not avowedly, what came afterwards to be called "Liberal."

Academically: they approvingly anticipated almost all the revolutions imported into the

University and Colleges by the Reforming Acts of 1854 and onwards ; and urged, what has not yet been carried out, a strict compulsory University Examination as a preliminary to all matriculations.

Ecclesiastically : they were devoted adherents of the Reformation : approved the Royal Headship of the Church, desired to bring the clergy under direct lay influence ; denounced what seemed to them the fatal error of confounding the Church with the clergy : their views as to the relation between Church and State being pushed to an extreme by Arnold.

Educationally : they would place religious teaching by the State on ground common to all denominations, through the use of text-books carefully and comprehensively devised.

Theologically : they stood between the bibliolater and the rationalist ; fearlessly applying historical tests to the Scripture narratives, accepting them, when modified by such corrections, as oracular. All were strongly Protestant ; all vehemently anti-Sabbatarian ; all denounced the Tracts, as paving the way to Popery, as diverting the energies of learners from the humanistic studies into lines mischievous and barren, as perpetuating priestly domination.

It was on this last ground that Newman beat and supplanted them, winning the great majority of the clergy and through them of the devout but half-instructed laity, by his maintenance of a sacerdotal as against a national Church. But their teachings leavened the more thoughtful intelligence of the country; were inherited by prophets such as Thirlwall, Stanley, Jowett, Pattison, Colenso; bear fruit to-day in the free handling of Church history, theological speculation, Scripture criticism, carried on by able and religious minds within the limits of the English Church.

Never yet
Share of truth was vainly set
In the world's wide fallow :
After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands, from hill and mead,
Reap the harvest mellow.

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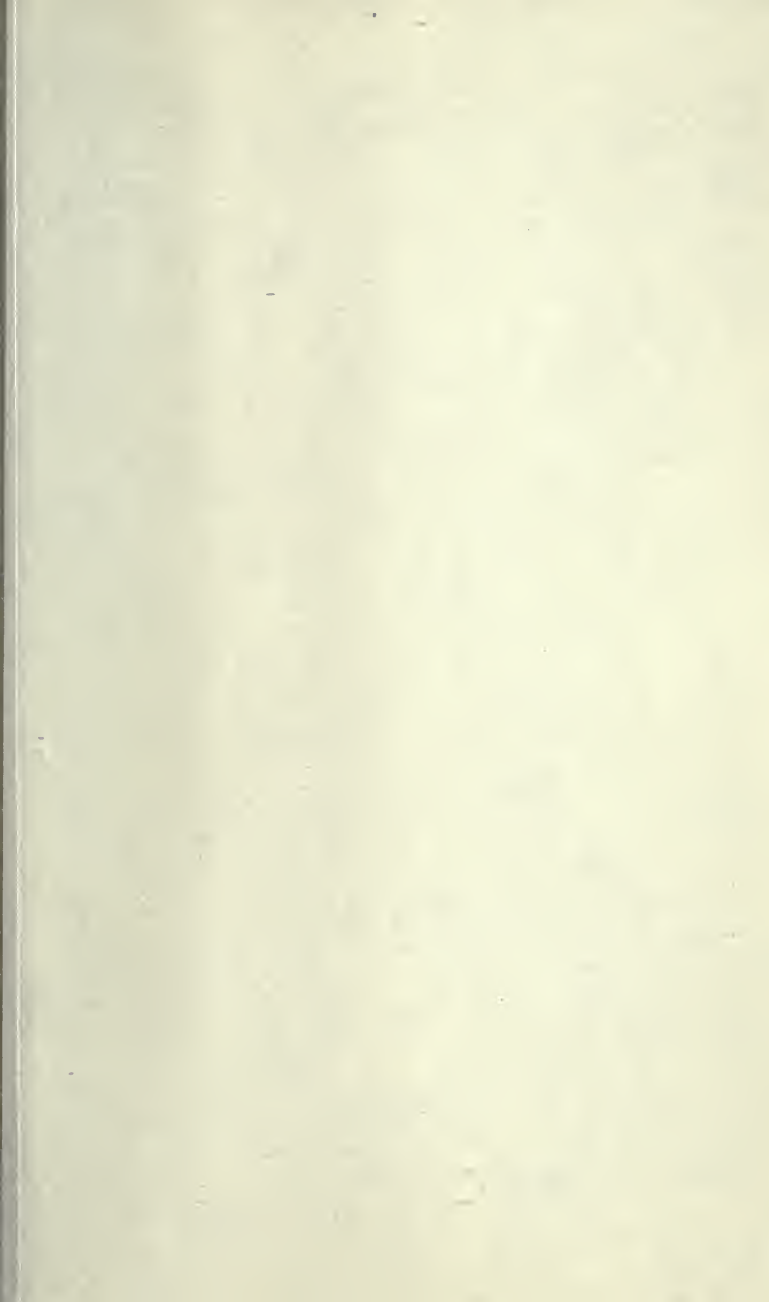
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